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ART. I.—SCOTLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:
1707.

SECOND PAPER.

[In a recent issue of this *Review*, at the close of the article on 'Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,' the writer held out a hope that 'a companion picture' to the one given might be attempted on some future occasion. The attempt is made in the following pages. The previous paper described the general Physical condition of Scotland at the opening of last century; the present one describes the general Intellectual condition.]

I.

SCOTTISH Society at the Union was marked by one peculiarity which demands our particular notice: it had no middle class. This is the key to the general situation. 'There are only two ranks of men among us,' says Hume of his own time, 'gentlemen who have some fortune and education, and the meanest slaving poor.*' There was neither wealth nor trade of any consequence in the country, as we have seen, and the usual result of these in free countries, a true middle class. The gentry, the clergy, and the peasantry,—this latter including the farmers and traders—were the three classes into which the nation was divided. The feudal

* *Essays. The Parties of Great Britain. Note. The Philosophical Works of David Hume, Vol. III. Edinburgh: 1826.*

division of society, therefore, still existed, and, as we shall see, much of the feudal spirit.

The gentry were mostly old families, and as such kept their hold on the hearts of the dwellers on their lands and in their neighbourhood—unless when they had dyed their hands in the blood of their countrymen—and found that ‘the claims of long descent’ were instinctively honoured by them. It came naturally, and as an habit of blood, to the Lowland peasant to acknowledge these as his social superiors. The stubborn self-assertion which he had shown was as yet strictly confined to questions of dogma and church discipline—and would be until a greater shaking of crowns and kingdoms than he had been a witness of had taken place, and had irresistibly turned his attention to questions of Personal and Political rights; and if these were neither assailed nor derided, he was not more deferential than loyal.

The ‘gentlemen’ spoken of by Hume, and of whom he was himself one, had, at this time, a scorn of mercantile and industrial pursuits equal to that of the gentlemen of France, and the wearers of the black cock’s feather, the proud Duinheiwassels. Handicrafts they despised, and handicraftsmen they treated with contempt. At that period, the gentleman-merchant, manufacturer, or money-dealer, the civil engineer, architect, editor, or artist, were nearly unknown in Scotland; and the only form in which a man poor and well-born could retain the rank of gentleman, if he did not follow one of the learned professions, was by obtaining a commission in the army, or a Government civil appointment.* ‘Our manufactures or trades,’ says a contemporary, ‘were carried on by the meanest of the people, who had small stocks and were of no reputation. Our weavers were few in number, and held in the greatest contempt. As manufacture was in no esteem,’ he continues, ‘men of fortune thought it beneath them to breed their children to any business of that sort, and therefore the professions of law, physic, &c., have been reckoned the only suitable employments for persons of birth and fortune.†

* Burton ; *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, Vol. I., p. 196.

† *The Interest of Scotland Considered*, pp. 82, 121.

But as only a few of these 'persons of birth' could find a good settlement in their own country, by following out any of the professions, numbers of them went abroad to swell the list, already large, of the scholars and soldiers of fortune who had passed across the seas during the two previous centuries to lands where they hoped—the scholar, to find an honoured, undisturbed home; the soldier, some favours, perhaps fame.* More, however, preferred the ease and indigence and coarse semi-barbarous pleasures of the capital, where, without a single worthy object to engage their energies, they lounged about, haughty and fierce, divided by faction and addicted to liquor, keeping it in continual brawls and scandals, and freely using their swords, which were still worn by gentlemen, to settle all their differences.†

These were unworthy sons of unworthy fathers. The one portion of our history which all Scotsmen shrink from is the history of the Convention of Estates. It needs but it has never found an apologist. Its leading and most active-minded members have been sketched by our great historical colourist, and, unfortunately for human nature, the unlovely portraits are too well witnessed to by the memoirs and correspondence and legal decisions of the period; and these we cannot even casually consider without being forced to admit that the chief men in the Convention were as dishonest and unblushing seekers of office as either Scotland or England had ever seen. Virtue of the higher order, Roman or Christian, was an extremely rare thing among them. Simplicity and Honour, its fairest twin blossoms, had not yet made fragrant and beautiful the unwholesome and forbidding gloom of their castles. No imperishable scene revealing and embalming precious traits of personal and national character, has been recorded of the Convention, and floated down to our time to be in turn proudly handed on to after generations. Sycophancy, self-seeking,

* M'Ure, *History of Glasgow*, pp. 345-7, is amusing on the pride and poverty of Scotamen.

† Scott's *Heart of Midlothian*, ch. x.; *Ferguson's Poems*; *Domestic Annals*, Vol. III.

dissimulation and treachery, it must be admitted, were the leading characteristics of its members; and their evident motives in every crisis were mean and paltry. The Dalrymples, the ablest of them, were the just astonishment of their age. Their names are now synonymous with suppleness and sinuosity of political conscience. Never, perhaps, had Scotland two more capable ministers; but never had Scotland two such perfect disciples of Machiavelli. They set the example of saving their house by having no traditionary policy or principle, and of adopting the artifice which subsequently became common among the politicians of Scotland, 'of hedging,' of dividing their allegiance between the rival Governments, the father taking the one side, the son the other.* Earl Crawford, a pharisee of the pharisees, was one of the most craven of souls.† Lockhart, Montgomery, Hume, and Fletcher, poisoned by chagrin, were the willing tools and mouthpieces of treason and slander. Seldom has so large a group of really able men offered itself so unblushingly to the shafts of the satirists, the judgment of the historian, the jibe of the peasant. They live in history only because of the bitterness of their political creed and their maddened selfishness. Only do we touch upon the heroic and the memorable in the last passages of the lives of Argyll and Montrose and Baillie of Jerviswoode; and we feel when we do so an instant sense of relief and an exhilaration of spirit.

These were the men who, as fathers or sons, either countenanced Charles the Second and James the Second in their wicked misgovernment of Scotland, or were utterly indifferent to its wrongfulness and cruelty. These were the men who, on a change of masters, threw consistency to the winds and offered their allegiance to William of Orange, and begged for

* Macaulay may be compared with Laing, *History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 106, 198; Burton, *History of Scotland*, 1689-1748, chaps. 1 and 2; *Court of Session Garland*, and will not lose, it will be found, in his historical faithfulness in this case.—See also *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple*, by O. J. G. Mackay, 1873; *Annals and Correspondence of the Viscount, and the First and Second Earls of Stair*, by J. M. Graham, Vol. I., 1875.

† Burton, *History of Scotland*, 1689-1748, Vol. I., pp. 23-25.

place from Carstares; and who had hardly sworn allegiance, when, yielding to their vicious constitutional turn, they at once took to plotting on behalf of the exiled family, and to treasonable correspondence with its drunken, unkingly head. Their religion and their politics were the creatures of whim and worldly interest. This, no doubt, was their special temptation; for hardly any of them had one penny to rub upon another, so deep and incurable was their poverty. Whatever, therefore, ministered or was likely to minister to their advantage in wealth or lands, was eagerly clutched at and fearlessly gambled for. Every one had his price, it was believed, and could be bought.* Hunger is a sure deadener of conscience and weakener of moral eyesight. The poverty of the Scottish gentry was their one overmastering care for centuries. Hence they took sides and showed a compliancy and sacrificed consistency with an ease and frequency which astonish us as showing no less than a real divorce between morality and theology. For long their circumstances bore a close resemblance to the circumstances of the Bedouin and the Borderer—in which most things, human and divine, are always and easily sacrificed to personal ends.

Now, it would be against all experience to find men of this sort the fathers and fosterers of Parliamentary and popular liberty. Nor in this case does history belie our experience, but, on the contrary, makes it perfectly plain that the morals and politics of these men had many points of contact and mutual influence. They were not our sires in our love of political liberty. No, assuredly no. Whatever political purity and freedom existed in Scotland, existed, it is only too clear, in spite of them; and those sparks of the divine flame which burned in the souls of the Scottish people did so, unfed and untended by them. A brief glance at Scottish Parliamentary history will put this beyond doubt.

II.

During the reigns of the first Stuart kings we often hear of the Parliament; but if we were to conclude from this that it

* Burton, *History of Scotland*, 1689-1748, Vol. I., pp. 89, 90.

was like our present Parliament, a truly representative assembly, we should make a very great mistake. It never was this, and it never was meant to be this. It never was a power to which the Scottish people looked for redress of grievances or for the defence of their rights. No scenes in its annals illuminate the political history of the Middle Ages: it has no names famous in constitutional debate which haunt and inspire us. From the first there was a fatal flaw in its constitution which was never mended, nor sought to be mended, and which was taken advantage of again and again by the Crown, until in the seventeenth century it became a mockery and a sham. The first defect was that the Three Estates sat in one chamber with the Lord Chancellor as president. This had an obviously unfavourable effect on the freedom of debate and voting. The second and more serious defect was that all the legislative power was vested in a Committee. As far back, says Robertson,* as our records enable us to trace the constitution of our Parliaments, we find a committee distinguished by the name of *Lords of Articles*. It was their business to prepare and to digest all matters which were to be laid before the Parliament. There was rarely any business introduced into Parliament, but what had passed through this committee; every motion for a new law was first made there, and approved or rejected by it; what they approved was passed into a bill and presented to Parliament; and it seems probable that what they rejected could not be introduced into the house. They not only therefore directed all the proceedings of Parliament, but possessed a negative before debate. These were extraordinary powers to be vested in a committee; but equally extraordinary in the seventeenth century was the mode of its election. It was composed of an equal number out of each of the three estates—of eight peers, eight churchmen, and eight burgesses, to which were added latterly the eight great officers of the Crown. But never was there a more impudent pretence of representation. The bishops chose the peers, the peers the bishops; and these

* *History of Scotland*, Book i.; see whole passage and note. Cosmo Innes' *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, ch. vii.

chose other sixteen representatives of the shires and burghs! The whole power was therefore in the hands of the bishops, who were the slaves and sycophants of the Crown; and as their choice fell on those who were attached to the Court, the lords of the articles were the tools and creatures of the king. Hence from the time of David II. till the Great Rebellion in England had roused some parliamentary feeling in Scotland, the Parliament cannot be said to have met at all. It met only on two days. On the first it met to adjourn; on the second it met to receive and adopt the reports of its committee. During all these centuries, from the fourteenth to the middle of the seventeenth, not an Article, or as we should say, a Bill, was brought in and discussed, opposed, supported, voted upon in open Parliament. And there was no Speaker to guard the liberties of the Commons,—who were of small account in that assembly,—though in no legislative assembly was a Speaker ever more needed.*

The Scottish Parliament, in fact, was as to form, the purest piece of feudalism in the world; more so than the States-General, and more so even than the Arragonese Cortes;† and as to practice, was simply a court for the registering of the king's decrees, for giving legal form to every prejudice and purpose of the Court. We read of it in 1621 passing one hundred and fourteen Acts on the last day of the Session! We are at a loss to comprehend how it could do this, until we turn to the Minutes of Estates, where we see with some astonishment how the thing was not only possible but very easy. The whole proceedings, for example, before the house in one of the most memorable enactments in Scottish history, the Act against Conventicles, are thus indicated in the Minutes:—‘Brought in from the Articles, twice read, approved, and touched with the sceptre.’ No objection is raised, no indignant anger is heard, no pitying entreaty to stay the tyrant's hand thrills the hearers and momentarily paralyses the brutal minions of Charles.

* Cosmo Innes, *Scotch Legal Antiquities*, chap. iii. Hallam's *History of England*, chap. xvii.

† Quoted from a letter of Professor Stubbs in Mackay's *Memoir of Sir James Dalrymple*, p. 161.

The same servility and meanness of spirit was shown in burghal affairs. The burghs, whether royal burghs or burghs of barony, must always have been nests and nurseries of obsequiousness. Generally the creation of some neighbouring noble who was himself by right the chief magistrate or provost, but who usually either deputed his office to a nominee, or his powers to a substitute called his bailie; and being bound to render him, as feudal superior, various kinds of service, it was impossible there could be independence of opinion, and it was inevitable that there should be a general subjection of mind to the patron. Nothing could prevent this. Our county histories abound with illustrations of this menial stage of our history; of its petty tyrannies; its trivial social aims. The villagers in the neighbourhood of the castle or hall could not be summoned as their forefathers, by a whistle or bugle call; but they were not less influenced for the practical purposes of their time by the immediate interests of their position; and so strongly did these affect all that like Caleb Balderstone, in the *Bride of Lammermoor*, the pleasing of their feudal lord was apparently the chief end of their existence; the thought of opposing or thwarting him was shrunk from as blasphemy.

The apotheosis of this spirit was the burgh elections. These were not elections at all but nominations, in which the first principles of popular representation were openly subverted. Complete self-government had been conferred at the outset upon the burghs. The municipal franchise was the right of every holder of a rood of land; and by the ancient burgh laws, the aldermen and bailies were to be elected by the whole community, that is, the whole body of regular burgesses. But the very manner in which most of the burghs came into existence and were fostered, checked the play and growth of municipal freedom; although it would appear to have been frequently asserted amid much popular excitement against feudal domination. Unhappily, an Act was passed in 1469 which nipped this promise of liberty.* It enacted that the Town Councils

* *Ancient Laws and Customs of the Burghs of Scotland*, Vol. I. Preface. *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, ch. v.

in future should be self-elected, that 'the auld consail of the town sall chuse the new consail,' etc. This Act, worthy of the Lords of the Articles, concurring with the general circumstances of the nation, made every Town Council a set of oligarchs, instead of a body of representatives, responsible to and openly checked by the community whose interests they were pledged to see to. It could have no other issue. Never were such sleepy hollows of vanity and stupid self-satisfaction. Self-elected and beyond public opinion, they did as they pleased for generations with the lands, revenues, and offices of the burghs, until, at the close of the eighteenth century, they became, one and all, 'sinks of political and municipal iniquity, steeped in the baseness which they propagated, and types and causes of the corruption that surrounded them.'*

III.

Not less, but much more unrighteous and corrupt than the Parliament and the Burghs were the Courts of Law. The highest court in the realm, the Court of Session, had been for generations 'an established perversion of justice;† and continued to be open to suspicion long after the Union. It was foul with favouritism; and, what was worse, justice was bought and sold in it. Open bribery was the recognised custom, the clients' gifts the most important item in each case. Each judge had a depute member of the bar, called a 'peat' or 'pet,' whose special business was to conduct and see to this bribery or 'solicitation' as it was called. 'Pieces of plate and bags of money were sent to the King's Counsel, to influence their conduct, and poured forth,' says a contemporary writer, 'like billets of wood upon their floors, without even the decency of concealment.‡ No one seemed to think this practice a monstrous wrong; and the man who did not avail himself of it was

* *Cockburn's Memorials*, p. 98. Burton, Vol. VIII., p. 188. Report from the Select Committee on the Royal Burghs of Scotland, 12 July, 1819. Edin.—Statistical Account of Scotland, vols.

† *Carstares' State Papers*; *Secretary Johnson to Carstares*, p. 184.

‡ *Scott's Bride of Lammermoor*, ch. i.

sure to lose in law, and get himself laughed at for his scrupulosity. It was also usual for parties who had a case in court to deliver their information direct into the hands of the judges who were to try it, in their own houses; and the decisions of the Bench were frequently given *after* the Court had risen in private, and as could be arranged. Wickedness was in the place of judgment, and iniquity in the place of righteousness. Never was there in any country, not even excepting France before the Revolution, a set of judges more accustomed to prostitute their sacred office than the fifteen Lords of Session; and the phrase 'Show me the man and I shall show you the law,' which has come down from that period, exactly expresses their principles and their motives. It was not without cause, therefore, that the celebrated Forbes of Culloden, their first president of spotless name, used to drink to such of the judges as *did not deserve the gallows*.*

But worse still were the inferior courts. Courts of law they were not, as they did not exist for the interpretation of common law or jurisprudence by responsible qualified men. They were the courts of the barons as the Parliament was the court of the king; in reality part of the machinery which belonged to the Heritable Jurisdictions, as the Sheriffdoms, Baileries, and Royalities, which belonged by inheritance to the great families of each county, were called. The office of hereditary sheriff was usually vested in one of the largest landowners in the county, one whose connections happened to be among the most influential in it, and who was therefore supposed to have most interest in and was most likely to contribute to its welfare. His executive power was generally limited only by the gallows, and these he even sometimes set up and used. He was subject of course to the Crown, and his judgments could be appealed against; but which of his tenantry, who among the peasantry or villagers, nay who but his peers would not always feel it to be at least safest to acquiesce in his judgments, and though burning with indignation, be dumb in his presence? In the Sheriff's as in the Supreme Court, money

* The references on this point are unusually abundant. See *Court of Session Garland*; *Memoir of Sir J. Dalrymple*; *Chambers' Traditions of Edinburgh*.

answered all things. The Sheriff reaped large profits from the fines imposed by him or his deputies; and his deputies, not being, strange to say, salaried officials, paid themselves out of the same convenient fund. Hence the door was opened to endless vexations and iniquities. Hence fines were almost always imposed. Hence crimes and offences were condoned by arrangement with the private or public prosecutor. Nor was this all. The Star Chamber mode of pressing accused parties to purge themselves on oath was common* in cases where guilt was assumed and where evidence was not likely to be forthcoming. Righteousness and pity, in short, had no place in these courts.

Besides the Sheriffdom there were the Regalities. A Regality, like a Palatinate, was a separate little kingdom carved out of the realm, whose chief was allowed the free use of legal powers; that is to say, he was absolute in all matters belonging to his estate and people; the Dispenser of Justice, the Fountain of Mercy, the Maker of Law and Custom. Sir Walter Scott has described one of these in the *Legend of Montrose*; and Inveraray Castle as there described, with its twin emblems and twin terrors of regality, the Pit and Gallows, was quite according to the fashion of feudal times. As an institution belonging to a barbarous age, when the chief was overlord and responsible only to the king, the lord of regality was practically above law, and could punish with death or starvation, without fear of consequences, whoever drew his frown upon them, or were in the way of the gratification of his passions. In the shadow of the Capital a show of deference was paid to the Supreme Court, and something more than deference to the Crown; but in their own lands the lords of regality cared little or nothing for either Court or Crown, and ruled as despotically as any Turkish pasha or any French seigneur under Louis XV.† And as if this power was not enough for any one man to possess, the principal nobles held a plurality of offices, and were Sheriff, Lord of Regality, and

* *The Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, by Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., 1864, pp. 74-79.

† *Burton's Life of Simon Lord Lovat*, pp. 161-9.

in two or three instances, Justice General, at one and the same time.* Who will ever know the horrors of these tyrannies? Only when the dungeon and the grave give up their dead, and the silence and darkness of oppression find a voice and are lit up so as to make all things plain. It is not needful to have detailed proofs of the uses which the pit and gallows were put to, to form a just opinion of the spirit and manner of administering law in the days preceding their abolition; it is enough to know that the power of life and death belonged as an hereditary, immemorial right to the leading chieftains of the land, and that they always possessed the means of instantly exercising it. Who might impugn or oppose their will in their own burgh or burgh court? Whoever did so was certain to find that it was a ridiculously vain thing to do; as the saying of the Campbells' expressed it, 'It is a far cry to Lochow.'†

IV.

We are willing to believe that there was another side to this picture; nor have we any doubt that in practice the powers we have referred to had by this time generally fallen into disuse. It was natural they should. To what extent, however, this was so in the great northern jurisdictions we cannot even guess; and we have an instance in the case of Simon Lovat, chief of the Frasers, which should make us cautious in coming to a conclusion on the subject. As to the southern shires we are in no doubt. The Reformation brought about a state of things which struck directly at all exhibitions of feudal power, and therefore at the jurisdiction it conferred; and this was intensified, although by a different means, in the next century during the Covenanting struggle. Then, the presence of a common enemy knit lord and peasant together; superior and vassal were each bound to the other by ties of reciprocal goodwill; and so it happened that where the mere creatures of the Government would have hunted and shot down the suspected and the offending, the feudal magistrates, the resident owners

* See a list in Struther's *History of Scotland*, Vol. II. pp. 520-7.

† Scott's *Legend of Montrose*.

of the soil, generally exerted their influence to shield and save them from the storm of persecution. It would be untrue, therefore, to speak of the Regalities as engines of oppression—the dread of the people; the spirit of feudalism in its noblest form had made this impossible. Like other parts of the legal machinery of the day, they were the creation of, and had been made to suit a ruder time, when might took the place of right, and force the place of law and precedent. But they were still the law of the land—still the private right of certain families. The pit and gallows might still be used as they once had been used. Nay more, they were regarded with the other heritable jurisdictions as essential to the dignity and safety of Scotland; for they were specially reserved at the Union as rights of property. There was no fault seen in them, no complaints made about them. Not better could be put in their place; and it was not till the statesmen both of England and Scotland were frightened and incensed by the mischievous use they were put to, that they were swept away in 1746 in a moment of victorious power and indignation.

What, with all these facts before us regarding the political life of the nation, and the modes of administering law and justice in it, what is the meaning of the boast that Scotland has always been a land of liberty? Whatever it may mean this it cannot, that Scotland was a land like the one described by Tennyson:—

A land of settled government,
A land of just and old renown,
Where Freedom broadens slowly down
From precedent to precedent.

For at the time of the Union, there was, properly speaking, neither freedom of opinion nor freedom of election in civil and municipal affairs; there was no constitutional freedom; no generally respected common law; no even handed justice in the land. And yet in a real, although limited sense, the boast is perfectly true.

If the body of the people had neither political nor municipal freedom, they had what they esteemed, and rightly esteemed,

as the source and foundation of all freedom, namely, a sufficient religious freedom. This they prized as the one chief good of life, and felt as yet no need of other forms of freedom. They have accordingly been pointed out by Macaulay as a remarkable example of a people well-conducted under bad laws. But their example was a very peculiar one. The Theocratic idea had early possessed the national mind, and at this time was still an influence and a spell to rouse a portion of the people to the wildest intolerance. What their fathers bled and died to secure had in the main been secured, and laird and peasant alike felt, that in the possession of one faith and one baptism everything which had been desired or was desirable had been obtained. Free from all forebodings, and enjoying serene satisfaction in these his beloved themes, which completed to him the essentials of religion and theology, the Scottish peasant gave cheerful honour both at kirk and market to lord and lady, whatever were their feudal relations to him, and taught his children to do the same as one of the first duties of life. It was more than he could imagine that Dissent as to dogma and discipline should naturally arise in his altered, more leisurely times, as it was soon to do; it was more than could have occurred to him that one of the first fruits of the Union should be the discovery that there was a court in the realm superior to the General Assembly. Political life as it existed and for long had existed in England, and the whole range of those practical interests which are common and give such variety to our day, were then unknown: in their place and answering the same intellectual ends were the vaster if vaguer series of theoretical interests set forth and suggested by Calvinism and the Covenants. Taught for generations that their country was a Theocracy, and kings and rulers God's vassals, the Scottish people had become the most theological people in the world. Every interest and relation was subordinated to their theology; all that makes up the round of human life was controlled, or was tried to be controlled by it. Intensely realistic in their conceptions of the unknown, serious and earnest as became strong natures overawed by those conceptions, there was in nearly every cottage in the land an habitual and absorbing

exercise of the intellect on the baffling problems of man's nature and man's destiny. The manner in which they did this we see in *Boston's Fourfold State*, a book which is the true reflection of the religious beliefs of the Scottish peasantry in the eighteenth century; a book which although almost unknown now, was never absent from the window sill or the wall press of the cottage, and with the *Scots Worthies* and *Cloud of Witnesses* fed the minds and filled the imaginations of the Scotsmen and Scotswomen of that century.

If their creed thus engaged their minds to the exclusion of all general secular interests, their form of Church government no less certainly bred in them a love of representative assemblies and freedom of debate. What was denied them in the Political arena they were freely and frequently allowed in the Ecclesiastical one. The Presbyterian form of Church government is based on the two principles, that all men are equal in the sight of God, and that all men are responsible creatures, and as such have certain inalienable rights of conscience. The turn which events took after the Reformation, the deadly contention between the Crown and the people, favoured the growth and diffusion of these ideas. Preachers like Craig and Black, tribunes in Geneva cassock and gown, exhibited them to the nation in the fullest sweep of their application; and from that April day three hundred years ago, when Presbyterianism was adopted in the Magdalene Chapel as the national form of worship, they have been native to the air of every Lowland parish, and been carried out with republican simplicity: the peasant as a member of the church being on an equal footing with the peer, sitting side by side at the communion table without distinction of person, and in the Synod and General Assembly equally free to speak and equally influential in vote. From that time the pulpit was the most powerful means of forming public opinion, and the only organ by which it was or could be expressed; and the ecclesiastical courts the only assemblies in the nation which possessed any sort of liberty of speech and popular feeling. It was the clergy who first taught the people to express an opinion on public affairs, and they taught them thoroughly well. They gave the

Church a spirit which no fear could tame and no persecution break; an unconquerable hatred of illegal interference; a courage which never quailed in defence of its prescriptive rights. As Mr. Buckle has eloquently said:—

‘They kept alive the spirit of national liberty. When the light grew dim and flickered on the altar their hands trimmed the lamp and fed the sacred flame. By their sermons, by their conduct, both public and private, by the proceedings of their assemblies, by their bold and frequent attacks upon the persons, without regard to their rank, nay, even by the very insolence with which they treated their superiors, they stirred up the minds of men, woke them from their lethargy, formed them to habits of discussion, and excited that inquisitive and democratic spirit which is the only effectual guarantee the people can ever possess against the tyranny of those who are set over them.’*

Thus although the Scottish Parliament failed to foster the first forms of a free commonwealth, and never represented the nation in any of its popular crises, the people found a constitutional mode of making their wishes both known and felt. The mode was ecclesiastical. But that was an accident. Beneath this peculiarity, and the form and phrase natural to it, lay the great principle of individual freedom, the prime protestant doctrine of liberty of conscience. A parliament elected by the nation Scotland had not, but, thanks to her Clergy, every pulpit was a tribune, and the General Assembly a House of Representatives. Unlike the Romish and English Clergy the Scottish Clergy were not priests separated from the mass of the commons, and the assemblies were not Assemblies of an ecclesiastical order. They and only they represented the life, the genius, the best interests of the Scottish people; every hope of national life, every longing after freedom, truth, rest; every upward tendency of human nature.†

This is the peculiarity, the leading feature of Scottish History from the Reformation down almost to our own time. Whereas in England the leaders of public opinion and the originators of

* *History of Civilisation in England*, 1867. Vol. III. p. 113.

† *Presbytery Examined*: an Essay, critical and historical, on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation. By the Duke of Argyll, 1849. Chapters IV. and V. See especially pp. 90-2.

new movements have commonly belonged to the laity, in Scotland they have commonly belonged to the clergy. In Knox, Melville, Henderson, Carstares, before the Union; in the Erskines, Boston, Robertson, Chalmers, since, we have a list of churchmen who represent the movements which have taken place in Scotland since the Scottish people had a political existence and a political influence. These are the names deepest cut in the national remembrance. The feudal leaders from the first had only their own interests in view, and therefore ceased, from the first show of democratic feeling, to be the real leaders of the nation. They are the figures on the page which indicate the direction of the feeling or opinion of the country, but are rarely or never the forces which create it. Whatever might be their policy they had to count on the clergy and the church as the determining elements as to its success; and it fared well or ill with it in proportion as it had their favour or their frown. There was no powerful middle class as in the wealthier South; no rich tradesmen and many-acred yeomen of lineage older than the Conquest, to represent the people, to plead for, and if need be fight for them against the oppressions of the Crown. This, in Scotland, had to be done by the clergy. It was the church under Knox which overthrew Mary Stuart and her cause, and saved the Reformation. It was the church under Melville which crossed and thwarted James VI. in his first attempts on popular privilege. It was the church under Henderson which enabled Hampden and the Parliamentary party in England to make head against Charles I. and the bishops, and whose stubborn patience under persecution hastened the Revolution. It was the church in its collective form which induced the statesmen of 1688 to give a historical continuity to the faith of the people by setting up a Presbyterian establishment. The policy which was found best in each of these crises was the policy preached and insisted upon by the church; and which would not have been adopted if her spirit had not been resolved and her voice constant and true.

In this sphere and in this form the Scottish people enjoyed liberty and latterly triumph. And it was in winning this, the

single stroke on which all else hung, the one right which included every other individual right, that minor interests were unnoticed and unheeded. Enough that the Church was securely placed in its privileges by the Revolution settlement. Enough that men like Middleton and Lauderdale, Claverhouse and Dalziel, were no longer possible. Enough, finally, that the Act for securing the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government, and ordaining that the said Presbyterian government should be the only government of the Church in Scotland, was inscribed in the treaty of the Union and formed an essential part of it. The nation was profoundly satisfied. Every man could now worship in peace under his own vine and fig-tree, none daring to make him afraid. The saint might now, as before, entertain angels unawares and see the heavens open. The peasant, freed from the fear of the sleuth-hound and the spy, might now meditate, like the patriarch, in the evening stillness and shadows. The boot, the thumbscrew, the gibbet, the dungeon, were gone for ever; the lonesome cave and damp and dismal moss-hag were no longer welcomed as places of shelter and as temples of devotion.

V.

In these two distinct and separate spheres all the mental activity of the Scottish people moved: on the one hand, the Gentry mostly taken up with coarse, personal pleasures, and selfish, factious politics; on the other, the Clergy and the Commons passionately anxious for the adoption of their religious and ecclesiastical principles. But although the two classes were widely separate in their sympathies and beliefs, they were not socially antagonistic. There was never at any time the slightest approach to a war of classes. And after the Revolution this was really impossible. The means of tyranny, as we have seen, lay ready to hand, and the circumstances are easily conceivable in which they could have been used to grind the peasantry into slavery, as they were ground in France. But these happily never occurred. The country was thinly peopled; the soil could not do more than furnish grass for a few cattle,

and grains for home consumption; there was neither mineral nor mercantile wealth. The gentry were, therefore, like their tenants and servants, very dependent on kindly skies and favouring seasons for bare sustenance; and as we see in the family papers of the period, were simple in their tastes and gentle and familiar in their ways. The consequence was that in the beginning of the eighteenth century the bulk of the nation, certainly all the rural part, was under the spell of the feudal spirit, and subject in much to feudal use and wont. On one point, and one only, had it completely broken away from this bondage, but so gradually had this been done that no one was sensible of any awkward or serious difference of opinion. As yet all things seemed to be unchanged: as was said at the outset, the time had not come when secular interests for their own sake, and when Political and Personal rights were counted all-important and claimed as part of a man's inalienable heritage.

Two curious and striking illustrations of this may be given—the existence of slavery or serfdom in collieries and salt-works, and the existence of an extensive kidnapping traffic between the northern counties and America,—illustrations of the dwarfed, one-sided sympathy, and of the moral obliviousness, which are possible and too common to all men who narrow their observations to a single aspect, and their interests to a single set, of human affairs.

1. At a time when the nation was anxious above all things to secure one of the higher forms of liberty, namely, freedom of religious opinion, it takes us by surprise to find that there were two considerable classes of men and women, hundreds of whom were within sight of Edinburgh, living under the doom of slavery. These were the Colliers and Salters. 'They were literally slaves,' says Lord Cockburn, the first writer who describes them. 'They could not be killed nor directly tortured, but they belonged like the serfs of an older time to their respective works, with which they were sold as a part of the gearing.' They were true *adscriptitii glebæ*. We know nothing of their personal condition at this time; we have not a single reference to them in any of the writers of the day. But we

know enough from late observers, when their condition was better, to assure us that the social and mental condition of these persons, of whom 'there must have been thousands,' was an offence to humanity and a disgrace to their country. They were simply beasts of burden. Like other animals they had some rights, but these were lightly esteemed by their masters, even by the best of them. They formed a separate and avoided tribe; their habits were low and brutish; they wore the look of creatures outcast and despised. If not quite forgotten, at least no man cared for them. So complete was their degradation, so blunted, in other words, were the feelings, so blinded were the moral perceptions of their countrymen, that in a statute passed in 1701, which has been extolled as the Scottish Habeas Corpus Act, they were expressly *excluded from its protection: being slaves, they had no personal liberty to protect, and no rights to preserve.*

And the manner in which this form of bondage grew up into established and recognised use, gives it additional point as a proof of the characteristics just mentioned. There is no reason to regard it as a vestige of an old feudal custom, nor as a relic of ancient villenage. It probably originated in the practice of condemning offenders to perpetual servitude; it was certainly directly encouraged by several Acts passed by the Stuarts, which legalised forcible possession of the person of the vagrant and poor, and their compulsory perpetual employment. One of these Acts says: 'It shall be lawful to all persons or societies, who have or shall set up any manufacture within this kingdom, to seize upon and apprehend the persons of any vagabonds who shall be found begging, and who, being found masterless and out of service, have not wherewith to maintain themselves by their own means and work, and to employ them for service as they shall see fit, &c., &c.' This legislation defined all servants as either 'necessary' or voluntary. 'Necessary' servants were those belonging to the classes named above, whom the law compelled to work in places which it was found difficult or impossible to carry on otherwise; and who, like their unhappy brethren who were 'apprenticed' to Virginian planters, thereby became chattels. The hardship, the wicked-

ness of this legislation was not in its compelling the vagrant and houseless to work for their living; it was in punishing a misfortune as a crime, and in addition, in depriving men and women of their natural rights. In Scotland there was always the sorest of temptations, namely, hunger, to force persons into such employment; and latterly, the most of the persons engaged in these works preferred being so employed to being starved. All who did so were enslaved for life! And hence wives, daughters, and sons went on from generation to generation under this family doom.*

2. The other illustration of the light regard shown by the authorities for the rights of the individual, was the practice of compromising with thieves, vagabonds, and other offenders, by banishing them to the American and West Indian plantations. Hundreds of unhappy and unfortunate creatures had been so shipped off from time to time to the other side of the Atlantic; sufferers for conscience sake, persons obnoxious and suspected but not tried and found guilty, and proved offenders. The extremely iniquitous thing about this form of criminal procedure was, that the persons in question, except those summarily dealt with by the Privy Council or Lords of Session, appeared to consent to their disposal in this way,—to their banishment into slavery. This was a trick of law; for in reality they chose this fate simply because there was no other open to them; it was their one and only alternative. The juggle was characteristic of the jurisprudence of the day. The offenders were not treated openly, their crime first proved and then their punishment proclaimed. They were dealt with. They were not driven out of the country as pests, and forbidden to return; or kept at home and marked as public criminals. They were hustled out of sight, and beyond redress: as the record bore, they elected to be given over to whoever would receive or purchase them, with the certain fate of being sold as slaves in the Barbadoes, Jamaica, or Virginia. Where the forms of law

* See the story about 'Moss-Nook,' an old working man, who was 'niffered away,' for a pony, in *Domestic Annals*, Vol. III., p. 250.—Cockburn's *Memorials; Sketches of Early Scotch History*,

could be altogether dispensed with, as in the western jurisdictions, some lonely islet was used as a penal settlement. The island of Saint Kilda, it may not be generally known, was used as such by the Macleods of Skye and other chiefs for all who grumbled under their yoke.

What a ready and convenient form of punishment was this for a Lord of Regality, an Hereditary Sheriff, and the Privy Council! Burt saw this system in operation long after the Union. What he saw was no doubt that which had been used and went for many generations. He thus describes it in one of his letters:—

‘When any ship in these parts is bound for the West Indies, to be sure, a neighbouring chief, of whom none dares openly to complain, has several thieves to send prisoners to town.

It has been whispered their crimes were only asking their dues, and such like offences: and I have been well assured they have been threatened with hanging, or at least perpetual imprisonment, to intimidate and force them to sign a contract for their banishment, which they seldom refused to do, as knowing there could be no want of witnesses against them, however innocent they were; and then they were put on board the ship, the master paying so much a head for them. Thus two purposes were secured at once, namely, the getting rid of troublesome fellows, and making money of them at the same time.’

It was an old practice, perfectly true to the feudal style. Public opinion was blind and deaf and dumb to its inhumanity and unrighteousness. And so long was it before justice in Scotland took any qualm about this mode of dealing with accused persons, that even in 1732 two men of humble rank who were suspected of being accessory to a murder, having petitioned for banishment before trial, were sent forthwith to Glasgow, there to wait a vessel for the plantations.

Another form of this same iniquity was the practice of kidnapping young people for the American Colonies, which was extensively pursued for several years when the Scottish trade with the plantations began to open up soon after the Union.

‘Small as then was the commercial enterprise of Scotland,’ says Burton, ‘it was deeply stained by this criminal traffic for some years before the Rebellion, and a foul combination had sometimes been made between the

feudal landlord judges and the corporate authorities in the seaport towns, for the kidnapping of healthy strong young peasants to be sent as slaves to the plantations! And like many another evil which has been done under the sun, we only know of it by chance. There would have remained no traces of its existence save a few fugitive notices in letters and memoirs that might have been explained away, had not one of the victims returned to the country in the days of a stricter administration of justice, and told his story.'

His name was Peter Williamson. He had been kidnapped in the streets of Aberdeen when a boy about ten years of age, and sold to an American planter three or four years before the Rebellion. Returning, twenty years after, to England, he printed an account of his very chequered and romantic career, and this being so far an exposure of unknown and incredible malpractices in Aberdeen, very much alarmed and angered the Aberdeen magistrates. The result was a case of prosecution. The history of this case is highly curious, and strikingly illustrates the state of things we have described: namely, the impotence of the law; the indifference to individual rights; the tyranny exercised in many ways by the upper towards the humbler classes, and the general deadness of public feeling to all questions not immediately concerned with the salvation of the soul.*

Probably every one will feel surprised at the existence of these things. And certainly that such a system, as Burton observes of it, should have been tolerated into the middle of the eighteenth century after Somers, Hardwicke, and President Forbes had occupied the bench may seem incredible: but then few countries, as has been naively remarked by Lord Cockburn, can supply better materials than Scotland, for a history of things incredible, yet true and provable. Probably, too, every one will feel that it is after contemplating such a condition of society that we are likely to learn that Public Virtue is a plant of slow growth and the product of settled times; and that the chief value of History is the power which it confers of making

* Burton, *History of Scotland*, 1680-1748, Vol. II., pp. 409-11. *Chambers' Miscellany*, Vol. I.

just comparisons between one condition of human life and another.*

VI.

We turn now to the Intellectual and Religious condition of the country. As the political aspect of Scottish society, as we have seen, was profoundly affected by the feudal spirit, which gave it a mode all its own, so this other aspect of it, as we shall presently see, was even more profoundly affected by the spirit born of the prolonged and bitter struggle of the nation in the seventeenth century against the aggression and the oppression of her Stuart kings. The key to a true comprehension of the first, as we said, was the absence of wealth and a great middle class; the key to the latter is the almost constant presence of Conflict and Controversy.

‘It is a memorable fact,’ says the biographer of Ruddiman, ‘that there was not a newspaper printed in Scotland at the Revolution. The few had doubtless instructed themselves during several years from the *London Gazette*; and the many,’ he continues in his biting way, ‘had been too busy during the late times with the affairs of the other world, to be very anxious about the events of this.’ Intelligence or news beyond the bounds of the parish or market town there was literally none, and this was easily carried by the cadger or strolling beggar. Broadsheets hawked about or put up at the market cross were used in the Capital on extraordinary occasions, and one or two towns issued now and then a print called ‘A Diurnal;’ but it was not till we reach the first and second decades of the eighteenth century that the great engine of modern intelligence, the Newspaper—whose ambassadors, as Pendennis truly says, are in every quarter of the world, whose couriers are upon every road, whose daily existence is a perpetual blessing, and whose influence is that of a minister of peace and justice—became an established fact, and there was any chance of the town knowing the country, and the country

* *Papers illustrative of the Political Condition of Scotland, 1689-1696.*
Preface. Maitland Club,

knowing the town, and both knowing something of other countries and people. It was in 1705 that the first newspaper deserving of the name was published, the *Edinburgh Courant*, 'a small folio in double columns,' containing about as much literary matter as a single column of a modern newspaper of moderate size. It did not live long. Then followed in 1718 the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, which still survives, and two years later *The Caledonian Mercury*. These two sheets supplied the wants of the nation for many years. How few these were, the dingy meaningless prints remain to tell, and to tell in a very convincing way. The larger and greatly more varied news-sheet of the remotest Canadian settlement or New Zealand township, shows us when compared with these, what a mighty change has taken place since then, what a new world has come into existence.

It is an equally 'memorable fact,' that at this time there was only one general printer in Scotland. Printing as a trade did not exist. 'Printing of books,' says Gibson,* 'was first begun in Glasgow about the year 1638'; 'but,' he adds, 'there was no good printing until the year 1735: an interval of a hundred years. Yet Glasgow was the seat of a University. It was much the same in Edinburgh. *There was no native, no vernacular literature.* Till the close of the seventeenth century, and indeed later, Latin was the literary language of the Scottish theologian and scholar, the one medium of intellectual intercourse amongst educated persons.

For many generations Holland, dear alike to the Pilgrim Fathers, the English Nonconformists and the Scottish Presbyterians, was the one sacred Retreat of Freedom whose printing presses gave voice age after age to the mind of Europe. Rotterdam, Utrecht,—'the cradle of liberty,'—Leyden, and other Dutch towns, always had their distinguished group of exiles for conscience sake; and the books which bear the imprint of these towns on their earlier editions, testify to their literary activity. In Edinburgh there was only coercion. Andrew Anderson, the king's printer,

* *History of Glasgow*, p. 244.

received his patent from Charles the Second, in 1671, and held it for forty years. He had an exclusive right to print all kinds of lawful books in Edinburgh; and no printer in the kingdom could print anything, from a bible to a ballad, without Anderson's license or supervision. The 'lawful books' referred to were those which made no remark 'to the scandal or detriment of the Church or kingdom as now established;' or expressed 'disaffection to his Majesty's authority by contravening Acts of Parliament or Council in relation to Church affairs.*' As we might expect, Anderson had small need for either licence or supervision. Censorship of the press, and monopoly in trade, concurring with the unhappy circumstances of the time, made the literary history of the next fifty years a melancholy blank.

But what cared Charles or James, or their creatures, the traitorous Sharpe, and the bad and brutal Lauderdale? It mattered nothing to them how deadly the hurt, how irreparable the blighting effects of their oppression might be; it mattered nothing to them that no freedom and nimbleness of spirit and gladness of nature could grow and thrive and bear goodly, perhaps immortal fruit, in the prison house of their tyranny. The ends of the High Commission were attained, or seemed to be: the People were silenced, the Press was still: and they, blind and deaf to the signs of the time, were satisfied. Two illustrations of this condition of things will come home to us. The one book read and in demand by the people was the Bible, yet most of the bibles used far into the eighteenth century were printed either in Holland or England; and such were the bibles which came from the press of the King's printer, that he and his heirs have earned the poor fame of having issued the most illegible and incorrect copies of the Holy Scriptures ever printed; miserable beyond all example as to type, printing, and paper. Next to the Bible in interest to that generation was *The Cloud of Witnesses*. It was published in 1714, yet although assured of success from its supreme

* *Burton*, Vol. VII., page 161, for the terms of the High Commission. The whole chapter (chap. 78) should be read.

attractiveness on personal and patriotic grounds, it bore on its title page the name neither of printer, publisher, nor of compilers. And if its typography was as rude as anything in Anderson's bibles, its wood-cuts were certainly not less rude than the rudest of Saxon times.

Where books were so few, libraries of course were almost unknown. We happen to know of two or three—Leighton's and Carstares'—and as we run along the shelves of the one in Dunblane Cathedral, and scan the catalogue of the other, we feel how miserably placed, how scant and stale was the literary fare of the student and the scholar. It is, however, when we see the pastor of Ettrick, Thomas Boston, the foremost figure in the theological literature of the eighteenth century, in raptures over his three or four authors, 'Zanchy's works, and Luther on the *Galatians*, and Beza's *Confession of Faith*,' that we realise with painful vividness the extreme literary poverty of the period.*

The truth is, Scotland made no progress in civilisation during the seventeenth century. It was a century lost to culture and the arts and comforts of life. It was the misfortune of Scotland at the Reformation to enter on a sea of troubles, and to be so driven about by winds and waves, as to be often in peril of shipwreck. That calamity did not happen, and the Revolution found the sorely battered little bark safe with her colours still flying, and her crew stout-hearted and fearless. Life, dear life, and its sweetest charm, liberty, had been saved from the heartless grasp of the Stuarts. But, meanwhile, the hand on the dial had stood still. The eighteenth century succeeded to the state of things which the sixteenth had left. Art was unborn. Song was silent. Imagination, haunted and harassed and conscious of no slumbering strength in her pinions, or of golden sunshine on her head, was fain to fold her wings and lie still. Excepting Burnet, there is not one writer who sheds the least lustre on the literature of the century. And Science was a tiny babe, with no pretty promises of coming greatness, dawning

* Story's *William Carstares*, p. 377; Boston's *Memoirs*, p. 174. See also Lee's *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 381-5.

in its face. One name, indeed, the name of Gregory, had been distinguished during three generations for varied intellectual accomplishments; but the first Scotsman of purely scientific genius, Colin MacLaurin, was yet in his cradle, and the tongue which was to unfold in the Edinburgh University to astonished hearers the sublime discoveries of Newton, and give a general impulse to the cultivation of science, was prattling its infant prattle in an Argyllshire hut. A few minds among the younger clergy had felt the influence of Descartes, and had dared to lift questioning eyes to the far off, uncertain heights of the City of God, but only to shrink back appalled at their impiety.*

And it could hardly be other since we are to a great extent the children of circumstances. The Presbyterian forgets this when he compares the Masters in Theology whose works are still among the glories of English literature, with his countrymen, their contemporaries, and is silent, perhaps sad, at the uncouthness of style, the narrowness of view, the fierce and fiery dogmatism which mark every tract and treatise of the time. He forgets what were the chief causes of the difference. He forgets, too, that it is not to be expected that men, no matter how gifted, sharing in the troubles of one of the fiercest persecutions which Church history records, shut out from all the seats of learning, finding it hard sometimes to get their daily bread, and absorbed night and day in the pressing anxieties of the moment, should be digging into patristic tomes even had they possessed them, or writing books not likely to be printed, or, if printed, without a public to welcome and read them. Between these and those who dwelt in the bounteous fulness and leisure of the bishoprics and deaneries of the English Church no comparison is for a moment possible.

Episcopalians, and Englishmen generally, forget this when they complain of the hard and barren character of Scottish theology, and of the general poverty of Scottish literature in the seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth

* *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland*, Chiefly of the 17th and 18th Centuries : Being the Cunningham Lectures for 1870-73. By Jas. Walker, D.D. Pp. 70-73.

centuries. Proud of their own greatness—the full flower of many centuries continuous care—they slide into easy sarcasm towards their neighbours, and are inclined to Charles the Second's opinion that Presbyterianism is not a religion fit for a gentleman. Indeed, can any good thing come out of Presbyterianism? The spirit which dictated that bitterest of party pasquils, *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence Displayed*, and is so alien to a true historical sense, is still in the air, and was a disturbing influence even on the wide sympathies and delicate mental poise of the late Dean Stanley.* Instead of complaint there should rather be regret and candid acknowledgment of wrong and injury done—and a frank delight shown that in spite of all the misery inflicted—one tithe of which England never at any time endured—the spirit of Presbyterianism was not broken. It was made fierce and suspicious. Who was to blame? Who had taunted and tormented the people from the beginning of the century? Was not Archbishop Spottiswoode at the birth of the High Commission, and did not Archbishop Sharpe and even the saintly Leighton know of and sanction the horrible cruelties committed by it? As well expect the weather-beaten, bleak hillside to yield the gorgeous flora of the sunny, highly cultivated plain—as well expect that during the Wars of the Roses Jeremy Taylor or George Herbert should have flourished in England—as expect to find the fair and full-grown fruits of social strength and safety in Scotland in the seventeenth century. It was a century lost alike to Charity and Culture.

The historical critic forgets this when, like the late Mr. Buckle in his *History of Civilisation*, he commits the grave error of making the literature of this period—the sermons and

* *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*: Lectures Second and Third. Was the Dean an illustration of the truth of Macaulay's very just remarks on this pasquill? 'The effect which tracts of this sort produced on the public mind of England could not be fully discerned while England and Scotland were independent of each other, but manifested itself very soon after the Union of the Kingdoms, in a way which we still have reason, and which our posterity will probably long have reason, to lament.'—*Hist. of England*, Ch. 16.

theological works just referred to which were passed by the censor as 'lawful'—the measure of the intellectual and moral life of the clergy and the commons. What an absence of a fine historical sense—of insight into human affairs, of justness of spirit—was here. What an absence, as we might expect, of proportion, of light and shade, of naturalness, in his crowded and often eloquent pages. Mr. Buckle fell into the snare which lies in wait for all historical critics, the snare of generalisation; and despite his twenty years' labours on his history, he is now known not as a brilliant soldier in the war of liberation of humanity,* like Froude and others, but as a closet knight, a very learned Don Quixote, whose extravagancies fill us with wonder and pity.

Literature is not life—and the quality of the one, in the past history of mankind, is usually a poor measure of the character of the other. It is no more than a fair measure in our own day, with its free and cheap press, its telegraphs, its freedom of discussion. It is certain, therefore, that we should form an opinion of the general character of the Scottish clergy of this period nearly the reverse of the truth if we formed it only from their writings. Their circumstances most unfavourably affected their literary tastes—indeed made literary culture almost impossible. Yet as a class, man for man, they were better scholars, better read in the Classics and in the Fathers, than the minor clergy of the English Church. But if there was no room for the growth of what would have added the charm of elegance to the duties of their sacred office, there was room enough for, as there was a constant demand on, their intelligence and integrity, and the exhibition of the severer virtues. And it is to the credit of the Scottish clergy that they were never wanting in these. Whatever fault may be found with their literary tastes, no fault can be found with their lives. A rare tribute, surely! They lived as few great bodies of Christian ecclesiastics have lived. The Church laid on them, in Wordsworth's happy phrase,

'the strong hand of her purity';

* Heine's phrase—'Lay on my coffin a sword: for I was a brave soldier in the war of liberation of humanity.'

and from the days of Knox downwards, in the simple, severe, and saintly lives which they led as pastors of their people, they have never been surpassed. They were the types of all excellence—the patterns of devotion and unworldliness to their flocks; and in their pastoral more than in their doctrinal relation, showed and persuaded men to seek the highest ideals. Accordingly, their names and memories have become a national heritage, and are still cherished and influential. This was no mean thing to do. Literature could not do this. England has a fair list of parish priests, but during the reigns of Anne and the first two Georges she had crowds of creatures in cassock and gown, creatures like Fielding's Parson Trulliber and Puzzletext,* which were a disgrace to her and were impossible in Scotland. They were little, if anything, better than the clergy of the Restoration; indeed were members of the same unapostolic succession, the chief end of whose existence was the enjoyment of meats and drinks and coarse sensual pleasures. These were the men who, as chaplains, curates, and even bishops, were the living epistles of Christianity known and read of all Englishmen, during the first half of the eighteenth century,—the men who made Wesley and Whitfield and the movement they originated an imperious moral necessity of the times. The age had many eminent divines, and its literary associations give it an undying charm; but what availed the literature of the period—the eloquence of Atterbury and Sprat, the arguments of Warburton and Butler, the wit and wisdom of Addison and Steele—to the mass of the nation against the daily life of men who indeed read the prayers of the congregation and of my lord's household, but who had long openly parted with consistency, and in whom reverence and honour were either lost or laughed at—who were the idlest and the most lifeless clergy in the world.† This has never been charged against the Scottish clergy. They erred the other way, in being over-earnest and over-righteous. No one can candidly

* *The Grub Street Opera*; *The Adventures of Joseph Andrews*.

† Green's *History of the English People*, Vol. IV., pp. 120; Mrs. Oliphant's *Historical Sketches*, Vol. II., pp. 5-8. Thackeray's *Four Georges*; Lec. II.

consider their lives as recorded, and their influence as preserved in fondly remembered traditions, without being satisfied that till the Union at least they were singularly true to their vows and the duties of their vocation, and had hitherto maintained, age after age, with a noble, steady consistency, the highest piety and morality in the realm.

Nor did they fall from this position, at least as individuals, after the Union. They had been the leaders of opinion, and had formed a united front against the common foe. But that foe gone, it was their doom to war and wrangle amongst themselves about points of doctrine and discipline, and to split into sects and sub-sects, whose points of difference for metaphysical fineness have been the astonishment of the world. Not a little of this trouble, it is to be said with sorrow, was made for them. Hardly had the Revolution Settlement become an accomplished fact than it was found that a legacy of controversies of the thorniest kind had come down from the pre-Revolution Church, and that Jacobite intrigue and English legislation were moving to make dispeace and dissension. If only it had been otherwise—if only the Abjuration Oath and the Patronage Act had never seen the light, there would have been some chance that Charity and Culture would have kept pace in their development with Commerce, now, after long hindrance, about to start on a brilliant career. But this, unhappily, was not to be—neither at the beginning nor at the end of this century—the good fortune of Presbyterian Scotland. Through direct, intentional disturbance, and through perverse legislation, ecclesiastical controversy became the inevitable doom of every serious-minded Scot. In the previous century it had been conflict in the field; now it was conflict in the senate-house and church courts. The conscience, the hopes, the traditions of the nation were once and again wounded, if not insulted, by ill-timed and mischievous measures of English statesmen who could not, who probably did not care to comprehend the peculiar nature and necessities of the situation. The older men, the Sixty who had not bowed the knee to any Baal, and their adherents, could not but grieve over and indeed resent these things; they could not but mourn over the evil days on

which they had fallen, and at the dimmed lustre of their beloved Church, nor could they fail to regard it as their solemn duty to lift up their 'testimony' against the defections of their brethren. Unfortunately there was no leader, no magnetic, moulding mind in the Church. A new era had dawned upon Scotland, yet which of the clergy saw this? They were at the parting of the ways, yet which of them was aware of it? Hence the din of contention and debate resounded in every Presbytery and General Assembly through the first half of the century. The Covenant was still the saving shibboleth to many; its renewal still the one thing needed to restore whatever was out of joint in Church and State. To Hillmen, Protesters, Non-jurors, compromise or conciliation was a strong delusion and toleration the unpardonable sin. And with the Patronage Act mocking the distinguishing feature of their religious system, and making havoc in all the churches, it seemed to not a few of the very best men in the land as if the blood of their fathers had been shed entirely in vain. If only it had never passed, it is matter of history that the course of Scottish ecclesiastical life would have run much smoother and very much sweeter; for from the days of Carstares to the days of Chalmers, the long period of a hundred and thirty years, it was the unfailling cause of discord, dissent, and disruption.

From such causes the Clergy as a body failed at this crisis to see the signs of the times. Their faces were not set towards the future; on many of them indeed had fallen the shadow of disappointment. Meanwhile new forces were silently rising in society, forces which had the practical and secular for their basis and their bourne, and were destined to change the face of Scotland soon. It was not an accepted principle then that

'The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways.'

These forces the Clergy took heed to only to flout and frown upon. Not unnaturally, perhaps. Commerce and industry, as mirth and music, as indeed love and laughter, with their fathers were viewed with some suspicion, as developing the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life. Hence arose a new

condition of things in Scotland. Diverse interests produced diverse feelings and opinions, and in the next twenty-five years we have the first indications of a real disintegration of public opinion, and of a departure by the laity from the old paths. Men had begun to observe and find out which was matter of opinion and which was matter of fact; to look at reality and lay the ghosts of their own mind. On the one hand, the clergy clung to the Mediæval spirit, and slowly came to have a defined position as the professional teachers of religion: on the other, the laity began to think and act apart on secular affairs. Leisure, reflection, and intercourse with other minds were beginning to tell upon thinking men. In other words, from about this time and coeval with the rise of the industrial spirit, the clergy fell from the lofty position they had held for a hundred and fifty years, as the most intelligent, the most practical, the most patriotic men in the nation. They no longer guided its intellectual tendencies. They no longer could. A turn in the road, to use a common metaphor, had been made, and lo! an unexpected change in the familiar scene. Instead of the sombre narrow glen, with its one solitary winding way along which many earnest souls had travelled, the broad plain stretched smiling far onward, and various pathways invited the lighter-hearted way-farer. The day of exclusive theocratic ideas was nearly over: the Donatism of the Covenant was being quietly ignored. And while Commerce and Industry slowly but steadily filled the villages and burghs with a stir they had never known (but should have known generations before, had fate been kinder), and silently gave men's thoughts a wholesomer tone, and drew all into a nearer bond of brotherliness—the clergy, divided into two parties, fascinated and frost-bound by the mediæval spirit, were mainly interested in entrenching themselves against the new influences.

The race of great ecclesiastics, of reformers, scholars, and statesmen had died out. Their successors were plain, commonplace men, who were untouched by 'the tender grace' of a chequered pathetic past, and were unable to comprehend fully the pressing need of a wise, broad, and practical policy if the Church they loved was to be

restored to its former place as a National Church. One man, and one only, of that number was equal to the times. But he was unique; single in kind and excellence. Four times in eleven years he was Moderator of the General Assembly—a certain proof of his acknowledged worth. A clergyman, a citizen of the world, a royal counsellor, above all, a Christian of the rarest type, the type of apostolic charity, William Carstares, was the one man who saw clearly before and after, and has been justly named ‘the second founder of the Church of Scotland.’* He died in 1715. His most remarkable contemporary was Thomas Boston, who may be taken as the representative of the old Calvinistic party. Never were two men more unlike, nor two lives which were ruled by the same motive and spent in the same cause. Weakly and melancholic, yet resolute and keenly intellectual, Boston spent his life in rural seclusion, evolving that system of theology already referred to, which made him in the eighteenth century an influence second to none.† To many *The Fourfold State* solved the riddle of existence and made plain the mystery of death. Next to the Bible it was the one book which the Scottish peasant made his companion, and from which he drew his strength for this life and his hope for the life to come. His *Memoirs* is his own self-portraiture, in which he describes his moods, his self-examinations, his fastings, his vain efforts to reach his own impossible ideal. There is nothing more morbid and painful in all our religious biography. Duty to him was certainly the one thing laid on him to do, and we are bound to believe that nothing was so precious as the comfort which came from doing it—that flowers laughed before him in their beds, and fragrance filled the air he daily breathed; but if we may judge from his own words, it was not so. Life, indeed, was not worth living. ‘The world’—these are his last words—‘hath all along been a stepdame to me; and wheresoever I would have attempted

* Stanley : Second Lecture. See also Struther's *Hist. of Scotland*, Vol. I., pp. 276-9, for one of the earliest opinions of his career.

† See a good passage on this in Walker's *Theology and Theologians*, pp. 186-7.

to nestle in it, there was a thorn of uneasiness laid for me. Man is born crying, lives complaining, and dies disappointed from that quarter.'

VII.

Between the poles of thought represented by these two names lay all that was properly Scottish in religious opinion and feeling; and these were true to the severest Calvinistic rule. No other was known. No other was possible. Cradled in and brought up under Calvinism as it was drawn out day by day from the Bible in reverent household reading, and from the Shorter Catechism in school and in church, it was the one influence during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries constantly at work moulding and disciplining every young mind. It was the first and the last lesson of the day, the one chief end of education. In the dame-school as they stood at the mistress's knee—in the parish school (where they were fortunate in having one)—and in the burgh school, the rudiments of Calvinism, the national faith, were the prime subjects taught every boy and girl. They were taught to read—if taught nothing more—that they might at any rate be able to read the Bible, the Word of God. This was the proud pre-eminence of every Scotsman of those days: he could read his Bible and knew its meaning word for word, equally with the most learned in the land. Alone of all the peasantry in Europe the Scottish peasantry as a body could do this, and often by fireside and wayside

'reasoned high

Of Providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.'

And this they owed not, as has been often and most mistakenly said, to their parish schools as schools, but to their Presbyterianism. The Parish School system properly belongs to the eighteenth century; Presbyterianism was the one educating power in the country from the Reformation to the Revolution. At the Revolution parish schools became a fixed part of the State machinery, and added much to the previously existing means of education, but it was Presbyterianism which gave

them their distinctive character as schools, which gave them a republican and a religious spirit. They spread its leaven by the constant use of the Bible and the Shorter Catechism. What that leaven was we have seen. Knox at the Reformation awoke the Scottish 'commonalty' from the lethargy of a long vassalage; kindled in them the first stirrings of intellectual liberty and desire, and taught them the full sweep of the fundamental principle of Presbyterianism. How they answered his call we know; and it is one of the finest things in history. How the spirit of these men continued into the next century we also know; and the wrestlings and wreckage which fill it are among the saddest things in history. Parish schools were few enough in the first half of the seventeenth century,* yet the intelligence of the people astonished their Episcopal well-wishers, Bishops Burnet and Leighton, who were amazed, as the former of them tells us, to see how the very meanest of them, even their cottagers and their servants, could argue on points of government and the power of princes in matters of religion. Upon all these topics they had texts of Scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything which was said to them. This was in 1670. It was not the parish schools, therefore, which equipped these 'cottagers' and 'servants'; it was Presbyterianism with its ideals, its problems, its aims, its assured faith, above all, its constant appeals to the individual mind, and to the sense of individual responsibility. And, rightly considered, it is Presbyterianism which has made Scotland what it is, and given her a people which for intellectual fire and sustained strength of purpose and endurance, has had no equal. Long distracted and spent in conflict and self-defence, these high qualities shone out in brilliant individual forms when peace and quiet prevailed; and in Hume, Burns, Scott, Livingstone, and Carlyle, has given us types of human nature of universal interest, and the most commanding influence.†

* How few, see Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 62-63; Lee's *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. II., pp. 28-9.

† Macaulay's well-known description of the effects of the establishment of Parish Schools (*History of England*, ch. 22) is palpably unhistoric—is untrue to

The scoffing spirit is offended at these men. Be it so. Yet the great soul of the world is just. They were pilgrims and strangers on the earth. They did not try to make the best of both worlds. The ideals of their daily conduct was the one so magnificently set forth by the Apostle to the Philippians: all things they counted loss that they might win Christ and be found in Him. Light hearted they were not; gay and frivolous they could not be: they took their pleasure not sadly but soberly. As men who were soured and unkindly? As men whose hearts could not leap up when they beheld a rainbow in the sky, or on whom the beauty of childhood or the glory of the landscape did not often bring thoughts too deep for tears? No: but as men who were over awed by the Infinite, as seeing Him who is invisible; as men who had a profound reverence for the Divine powers, and a strong realising sense of their nearness and exceeding awfulness. And with the Vision of the New Jerusalem, that glorious fantasy of the early Church, ever in their eye, what were the passing shows and vanities of time to them? One thing they had to do, and that was to hate Sin, to renounce the Devil and all his ways. Who will say they did not, with the intensity of intense, 'strongly realising' natures, strive to do this?

And the scoffing spirit fancies that these men did not enjoy life. Be it so. Still as it was, and seriously regarded as a trust given them by the Most High, life to them was precious. The descriptions which we have of their life—of their common pleasures and their common cares—in the poems of the cen-

facts, and indeed, when carefully considered, is a result which could not possibly have happened. 'Before one generation had passed away,' he says, certain 'wonderful' changes 'began' to appear. History is silent as to them—as direct results of the establishment of a general system of parish schools. It is a fine bit of rhetoric, however, and an excellent example of the too common mistake of *confounding different periods and of forming an opinion of a former period according to ideas borrowed from our own.*—Not less unhistoric and untrue is this: 'To the men by whom that system was established posterity owes no gratitude. *They knew not what they were doing.* They were the unconscious instruments of enlightening the understandings and humanising the hearts of millions. But their own understandings were as dark and their own hearts as obdurate as those of the Founders of the Inquisition of Lisbon.'

tury, in *The Gentle Shepherd*, *The Farmer's Ingle*, and *The Cottar's Saturday Night*, prove this. If to these we add some songs and ballads 'crooned' over by the cradle and the spinning-wheel and the quern, or sung as the brewster's 'twopenny' went off in successive hornfuls, we shall have scenes not less human than historically true. Their 'humour,' so unlike English wit and banter, is biting and grim, is quicker to smite than to smile. They give and take it, however, with most infectious laughter. And in their old-fashioned games of golf and bowls, in their cockfights and penny weddings, in their annual fairs and curling matches, and in the ever-varying play of human love and sorrow, the common lot of all, we may be perfectly sure there was no lack of sound natural feeling, of mirth and merriment, if also of sadness, too, sometimes. 'Looked at broadly,' says one who sees clearer on these points and is sounder in his judgment than most—'looked at broadly, one would say they (the Scotch) had been an eminently pious people. It is part of the complaint of modern philosophers about them that religion or superstition, or whatever they please to call it, had too much to do with their daily lives. So far as one can look into that commonplace round of things which historians never tell us about, there have rarely been seen in this world a set of people who have thought more about right and wrong, and the judgment about them of the upper powers,' &c., &c.*

Such is the estimate, such is the notion, we have formed of the character and of the condition of the people of Scotland at the time of the Union. Do the old times live again? Do they seem 'the good old times'? Do our forefathers seem to have been better or wiser or more happily placed than we? It is not, as we said at the outset, a picture which would charm; now that it is drawn, it is surely a confused, inharmonious, unfinished picture,—a picture of partial, imperfect civilisation, of arrested national development.

It is pleasant to know that now nearly all the wrongs which

* Froude's *Short Studies*, 1st series; *The Influence of the Reformation on the Scottish Character*. See also his *Calvinism*, 2nd series.

bred confusion in those byegone days have been righted, and what was bad changed for the better. But it was slowly done. This was mainly the work of the Eighteenth century. To all who love to mark the dawning of better days to the oppressed—the growth of a nation's free development—the rise of original forms of literature and philosophy—the history of the Eighteenth Century in Scotland is indeed a moving and never-to-be-forgotten chapter in the story of Human Progress.

ART. II.—THE SCOTS BRIGADE.

1. *Orderly Book of Lord Drumlanrig's Regiment*, 1748-9.
2. *Commissions in Scots Brigade*, 1677-88.
3. *History of the Scottish Regiments*. By MAJOR A. MURRAY. 1863.
4. *The Scots Brigade*. A Novel, by JAMES GRANT. 1882.

THE Scot abroad is a subject which Dr. John Hill Burton has made peculiarly his own, and pursued with a skill which precludes imitation, yet the title of his instructive and interesting volume points the way to fields of investigation where much remains to be gathered. The connection with France which then afforded to Scotsmen, as India in later days, the main outlet of foreign enterprise, has received attention proportionate to its importance, but there were other spheres of varied activity which excite the curiosity of the reflective student of our history. The career of Bothwell suggests closer enquiry as to the relations of the Scottish Kingdom with her Norwegian neighbours, and that fruitful Polish commerce which employed so many northern Scots, and procured for the future vanquisher of the Strelitzes such welcome Aberdonian hospitality in Posen, would repay more careful study than it has yet received. The alacrity with which Gordon and his friends were prepared to wreak summary vengeance on Cromwell's ambassador to Muscovy, whom they took for Brad-

shaw the Regicide, consists with the fact that during his exile in France the resources of 'Charles II., King of Scots,' were increased by a contribution of £10,000 from the Scottish merchants in Poland. So late as the close of the next century the grandson in Warsaw of an immigrant Scot was reputed the richest banker in Europe, and perhaps an enthusiastic patriot north of the Tweed may see one source of the ills that overtook the Sarmatian realm, in the fact that the union gradually deprived it of the Scottish leaven. The argument would cut far—if at all—for it is applicable to the French Revolution.

It was as soldiers however that the Scots were most conspicuous abroad, and three great military organisations attested the value of the forces for which their own country could not find room. The Green Brigade of Gustavus, the famous Scots Guards of France, and the Scots Brigade of the States-General of the United Netherlands, proved their valour in many a well-fought field, and in some saved the countries that they served. It is strange that the last occupies so small a space in Dr. Burton's book. Second only in antiquity as an organised force to 'Pontius Pilate's Guards,' it resembled the troops of Gustavus in its character, and the cause in which its blows were dealt. It produced however no Munro to narrate his experiences, and the author of the 'Military Antiquities' and the historian of the Scottish church at Rotterdam combined are perhaps the nearest approach to a Father Forbes-Leith which Time has yet vouchsafed it. But an exhaustive study of the Records preserved at the Hague should afford material as interesting as has recently been given to the world from French archives. A minute and affectionate account of 'the Old Brigade' is the natural complement to the story of the gallant champions of the Fleurs-de-Lys. Both represented periods of marked characteristics and the influences of great principles at work in the making of history, for if the Old Monarchy of France owed much to its stranger Guards, the bond which ennobled the service of the Brigade, and stimulated its recruiting in the glens of Scotland, and its exertions in the 'Lawlands of Holland' by an inducement loftier than certain and liberal pay, was the conviction that those who joined it were not merely carving out their own careers but 'giving a harvest-

day's work' for the high cause of the Protestant religion. From the time of William the Silent, till the triumph of Blenheim had made it finally certain that no Most Catholic or Most Christian king would combine supremacy in Europe with enforcement of conformity to Rome, the Scots Brigade had in 'the classic land of fortified defence' stood in the forefront of a mighty struggle. Like their countrymen in the south, the Scots allies of the Dutch had their services acknowledged by the highest authority on a striking occasion, and in emphatic terms. As after the battle of Pavia, Francis I. had described the Scottish gens d'armes as the 'arm which bears my sceptre,' so at the siege of Bois-le-duc in 1629, Frederick Henry Prince of Orange bestowed on their countrymen the proud epithet of 'the Bulwark of the Republic.'

We have before us an orderly book of one of the Regiments of the Brigade, illustrating its discipline and the *personnel* of its officers at a comparatively late period in its history, and a few commissions of earlier date which may form the text of a notice of its services at a time most critical in itself, and most interesting to British investigators of its annals. For, along with three English regiments occupying a similar position, it was the cream of the army that landed with William of Orange at Torbay, and formed the nucleus of the force which, though defeated at Killiecrankie, reduced Scotland. Before that time, however, it had a career of more than a century.

The circumstances of Scotland, and the spirit of her people had sent her sons to serve all over Europe, to use the words of Sir Thomas Urquhart, from 'the very Scyths and Sarmats even to the most subartick incolaries' on the one hand, and on the other even in 'the service of that great Don Philippe Tetrarch of the world, upon whose subjects the sun never sets,' but the Reformation and the consequent Revolt of the United Provinces almost immediately produced the establishment of a permanent body of troops in Holland. 'About the year 1570,' says Grose, 'the fame of the Low Country wars, and the great name of the Prince of Orange, caused in many Scottish gentlemen of martial spirits a desire to study the art of war under him: they therefore went over to Holland carrying with them a number of their

countrymen, who were formed into independent companies: among these gentlemen were many of the first families in Scotland, such as Balfour Lord Burley, Scott Earl of Buccleuch, Preston of Gorton, Halkett of Pitfirran, many of the different families of the name of Stewart, Hay, Sinclair, Douglas, Hamilton, Graham, &c.' These Scots troops suffered in the rout of Gemblours in 1578, where Don John of Austria defeated the forces of the States, but at the action of Réminaut or Rijnemants in the same year they decided the day under the leadership of Sir Robert Stuart, 'fighting without armour, and in their shirts.' *Nudi pugnans Scoti multi*, are the words of Strada. In 1585 in the determined but fruitless effort to relieve Antwerp, beleaguered by the Prince of Parma, the terrible 'Holofernese,' the Scots had their own share of the bloody struggle on the Kowenstyn Dyke. 'The English and Scots under Balfour and Morgan were the last to abandon the position which they had held so manfully seven hours long.' In 1592 Scotch companies formed part of the contingent under Count Philip Nassau sent by the States to the aid of Henry IV. of France, and five years later 'eight companies of Scotch under Murray' participated in Prince Maurice's important victory at Turnhout.

Two years before their numbers had been largely augmented, for the Dutch embassy that congratulated King James on the birth of his son, presenting him with two massive golden cups, carried back with them 1500 recruits. In so doing they had to overcome a certain reluctance on the part of the king to countenance rebellious subjects, while there had been an unsuccessful attempt previously by George Lord Seton to bring over the Scots Brigade to the cause of Queen Mary.

It suffered much at the siege of Bommel in 1599, and in the following year the advanced guard of Prince Maurice at the famous battle of the Downs near Neuport was largely composed of Edmond's Scots Regiment. The loss, especially in officers, was very heavy, including all the captains and 800 men, but according to some accounts the rank and file were infected by the panic which seized the Zealand regiment and four squadrons of horse, who had been detached along with the Scots, to hold the bridge at Leffingen, against the whole might of the Cardinal Archduke's

army. But another narrative asserts that it was only 'after having bravely defended the bridge like good soldiers, they were at length forced to give way, the whole loss having fallen on the Scots.' During the next four years they maintained their ancient fame among the 'olla podrida of nationalities,' that defended Ostend against Spinola.

In 1604 Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh took over to the Netherlands 200 men, described by his agent at the Hague seven years later as 'in fine order, and one of the best companys in the service.' Their commander had returned in 1609, on the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce. In 1627 his son, the first Earl of Buccleuch, took over a gallant company, and distinguished himself at Bois-le-duc. According to 'a poetic chronicler of the clan ;'

'at the Bosch in Brabant,
Like Hannibal that noble Earl he stood,
To the great effusion of his precious blood.'

He served also at Maestricht and Bergen-op-Zoom, and commanded one of the three regiments into which the Scots troops had by this time been definitely formed. The other colonels were another Scott, and Halkett, while among the well known names associated with the Brigade occurs that of Haig of Bemersyde. To the peace of Munster the Scots continued to distinguish themselves. Led by an Erskine at Sas-van-Ghent, they were foremost in forcing the passage of the Lys, and commanded by a Kilpatrick fought bravely at the siege of Ghent. In his quaint work with the long name—the 'εκσκυ-βαλαυρον—which Sir Thomas Urquhart wrote to vindicate the character of his native land, and in which he contrasts the famous 'Scottish colonels' 'exceedingly renowned for their 'fidelity, valour and gallantry over all France, Spain, the Venetian territories, Pole, Muscovy, the Low Countryes, Swedland, Hungary, Denmark, Germany, and other states and kingdoms,' with the 'freshwater officers,' 'these Laird and Lord Kirk-officers,' so plentiful in the Scotch civil war, he sounds the praises of his countrymen in Holland in characteristic manner :—

'The gold and treasure of the Indies not being able to purchase all the

affections of Scotland to the furtherance of Castilian designs, there have been of late several Scottish colonels under the command of the Prince of Orange in opposition of the Spagniard : viz., Colonel Edmond who took the valiant Count de Buccoy twice prisoner in the field : Sir Henry Balfour, Sir David Balfour, Colonel Brog who took a Spanish general in the field upon the head of his army : Sir Francis Henderson, Colonel Scot, Earl of Buclugh, Sir James Livistoun, now Earl of Callandar, and lately in these our turmoyles at home lieutenant-general of both horse and foot ; besides a great many other worthy colonels, amongst which I will only commemorate one, named Colonel Dowglas, who to the states of Holland was oftentimes serviceable in discharging the office and duty of general engineer : whereof they are now so sensible that to have him alive again and of that vigour and freshness in body and spirit, wherewith he was endowed on the day he was killed on, they would give thrice his weight in gold, and well they might, for some few weeks before the fight wherein he was slain he presented to them twelve articles and heads of such wonderful feats for the use of the wars both by sea and land to be performed by him, flowing from the remotest springs of mathematical secrets, and these of natural philosophy that none of this age saw.'

In the opinion of the Knight of Cromarty, Colonel Douglas was only surpassed by Archimedes, and only equalled, 'in this age of the Scottish nation,' by Napier and Crichton.

After the Restoration in Britain, and the alliance of the Royal House of Stuart with William of Orange, the Scots Brigade entered on a new and perhaps the most important phase of its career. When Charles II. was compelled by Parliament to reduce his army, many of his officers and men turned their eyes to the Scots Brigade, and the supply coincided with a felt demand. Two officers whose destiny it was to meet again in very different circumstances, were then in its ranks. John Graham of Claverhouse, like many other famous captains, was serving his noviciate in arms in Holland; and the combined charms of Clara de Bie and Calvinistic theology had transferred Hugh Mackay of Scourie from following 'Dumbarton's drums,' to march more solemnly to the refrain of 'the Lawlands of Holland.' It was while serving in the Brigade that the future Dundee saved the life of William of Orange at Seneff, and it was the failure to give him the promised command of one of its regiments that made him haughtily declare he would no longer serve a Prince who had broken his word. He was to meet in the Pass of

Killiecrankie, the officer in whose favour he had been superseded. His Dutch connection, and perhaps some forecast of the future, recommended Mackay to William, and that officer is the best type of the characteristic Scotch-Dutch soldier. As time advanced he was promoted to the command of the Brigade, and, up to the time when he marched to a post which he knew to be untenable on the field of Steinkirk with the words 'The will of the Lord be done!' he and his Brigade were the support which William knew would never fail him. For some time previous to 1675, the Brigade had been in a demoralized condition. 'Having nobody to protect them, they had a number of Dutchmen, Germans, and French refugees made officers among them, which entirely dispirited them.' Their behaviour in some actions was not worthy of their ancient fame, and William of Orange asked Mackay, who had lately joined him, if he was not ashamed of their conduct, and could conceive the reason why his countrymen had so degenerated from what they were when commanded by Lord Reay under Gustavus Adolphus. Mackay, 'as much piqued as the Prince,' gave him a very plain answer, saying that this corps, though called the Scots Brigade, was really a mixture of deserters and outcasts from all nations; that the promotion of foreigners had disgusted and driven away the Scots cadets and officers, and made the men desert; 'but,' he added, 'if His Highness would dispose of the foreign officers in the national or newlevied regiments, and replace them with Scotch gentlemen of family and raise Scotch recruits, he would answer that the corps would be as good as ever.' His counsel was followed; he got the Brigade put on a good footing, and carefully organised its scale of pay at a rate which, though then liberal, subsequently became inadequate. That of a colonel did not exceed £350, of a captain £140, and of a lieutenant £40, a-year. The position of the Brigade was a peculiar one. It was paid by Holland, the commissions were granted by the States and signed by the Stadtholder, but it was nominally lent by the King of Great Britain, who retained the right to recall it, and on two occasions that right was attempted to be exercised. Known in Holland as the Scots Brigade, it was spoken of in Scotland as the three Dutch regiments, and reckoned a part of the fighting strength of the

kingdom. The series of commissions of this time, which have supplied one of our texts, very well illustrate the facts already mentioned, and the service on which it was about to enter. They were granted to an officer belonging to an Aberdeenshire family, who was transferred after Steinkirk to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the Cameronian Regiment, and subsequently commanded a brigade at Blenheim. We quote one which bears the date of a day on which Luttrell noted in his diary: 'The three Scots regiments that are in the service of the Dutch are sent for over, in order to be sent into Scotland against the rebels':—*'Syne Hoogheyt heest by changement gestelt ende gecommitteert, stelt ende committeert mits desentot Lieutenant van de Compagnie van den Capitain James Middleton, James Ferguson. Lastende d'officieren en gemeene soldaten van de selve Compagnie den voorn James Ferguson voor haeren lieutenant te houden en te erkennen. Gedaen ins-Hage den 10 Jany., 1685. (Signed) G., PRINCE D'ORANGE.'* The form is a very simple one, and was apparently confined to the lower ranks, for a subsequent commission as captain, dated shortly before the expedition of 1688, is at much greater length and in duplicate, flowing separately from the Prince of Orange and the States-General.

The insurrection of 1685 in Scotland, headed by the Earl of Argyll, was quelled before the Brigade arrived, and it was directed to London, threatened from another quarter. On the 3rd of July 'the three Scots regiments which came from Holland were drawn up in Blackheath before His Majesty, and the next day early they marched towards the west.' Before they got far, the fight on Sedgemoor had quenched the hopes of Monmouth, and removed a stumbling-block from the path of William, and the Brigade returned to Holland. In acknowledging their assistance, King James wrote to the Prince, 'There cannot be, I am sure, better men than they are, and they do truly look like old regiments, and one cannot be better pleased with them than I am.'

Three years later they revisited England, but it was under other banners and different auspices. The policy of the last Stuart King had alienated the very classes who had most faithfully supported and suffered most for his father, and it was a

suggestive fact that while among the loyal addresses presented on his accession, there was one from 'the officers of the Scots and English regiments in Holland,' yet, when two years later he recalled the British troops in Holland, and the States, while forbidding the men to leave the colours, left the officers at liberty to follow their own inclinations, only sixty out of two hundred and forty obeyed the call.

When the armament of William appeared in Torbay, the three English and three Scots regiments, 'commanded by General Mackay, a Scotsman of noble family, sailed under the red flag,' and were the first to land on English soil. The Brigade marched with William to London, but did not remain there long, for on the 13th March, 1689, the three Scots regiments 'went down the river in the companies' barges, to go on board some ships to carry them to Leith, in Scotland, to secure the peace of that kingdom.' On the 25th the Scotch Convention granted authority to the magistrates of Edinburgh 'to quarter two regiments under the command of Major-General Mackay, in Leith, and the suburbs of Edinburgh.'

The force at Mackay's command as commander-in-chief in Scotland consisted only of his own brigade, the new regiments levied by the Convention, and a scanty force of horse. For some time 'the Dutch regiments' were the only seasoned troops, and they were not in their usual condition. William had drawn many veterans from them to fill up regiments in England, and the three together—Mackay's own, Brigadier Balfour's, and Colonel Ramsay's, only mustered 1,100 men. Exertions were made to complete their establishment, not wholly successful in the competition, which the raising of several new regiments produced, but sufficient to account for the curious fact, that while they were always drawn upon for services of special importance and hazard, they failed at Killiecrankie to exhibit the stubborn endurance worthy of their foreign laurels. Nevertheless they were the back-bone of Mackay's army, and supplied the officers to whom he entrusted the most important enterprises and posts. After the General marched to the north, Brigadier Balfour was left in command at Edinburgh till the arrival of General Lanier with reinforcements from England. Lieut.-Colonel Lauder of

Balfour's regiment was detached to secure and hold Stirling, while Ramsay commanded the detachment of 600 'chosen Dutch foot with officers conform,' which Mackay summoned to his support at Inverness. He had previously despatched into Angus along with his cavalry, '200 chosen firelocks of the Dutch regiments,' and they, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Buchan, a brother of the officer who subsequently succeeded to the leadership of the Jacobites, were the only infantry he had with him in his first expedition into the northern shires. When he hurried forward to occupy Elgin, 'so desirous of action were his troops, that the 200 old foot kept the horse and dragoons at the trot betwixt Spey and Elgin,' and in the retreat from Badenoch to Strathbogie, it was 'the two hundred fusiliers upon whom he relied most.' When he returned to the south, leaving garrisons in Inverness and Aberdeen, he drew them from the other troops that had joined him, and kept the Dutch troops for service in the field with himself, and when in the month of July he set out from Perth for Blair, the advanced guard pushed forward to secure the pass of Killiecrankie was composed of '200 fusiliers, picked men of the Dutch brigade,' commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Lauder. The order of march through the gloomy defile was significant of Mackay's estimate of the forces under his command. First went the remainder of Balfour's regiment, then Ramsay's, then the newly-raised battalions of Kenmure and Leven, with Belhaven's troop of horse between them, then Mackay's own veteran regiment commanded by his brother, immediately in front of the baggage, while Annandale's troop and Hasting's English regiment formed the rear-guard. In order of battle the disposition was similar, the leading battalions being on the left of the line. As the opposing hosts confronted each other till afternoon melted with evening, there was time for those on either side who knew each other of old, to scan the dispositions and apply their experience to the coming struggle. Dundee himself, Cannon who commanded his Irish brigade, and many of his officers, had served in the Dutch brigade, and knew with whom they had to deal. The chief weight of the Highland charge was poured on Mackay's regiment, because the Jacobite officers 'who had carried arms in that regiment abroad, were of opinion if it were

beat, it would facilitate the rest of the work, but,' says the General, 'there was a great difference betwixt it when they had known it and at this time, as was also of the other two regiments come out of Holland.' It lost its Lieut.-Colonel, James Mackay brother of the Commander-in-Chief, two captains and five subalterns, while two other captains, one of them the General's nephew, and captain of the Grenadier company, were left wounded on the field. While the right wing was thrown into confusion,—a confusion which is reflected in 'honest General-Major Mackay's' account of the battle,—the left fared no better. Brigadier Balfour who had charge of it was killed, and Mackay's statement of what occurred there is this:—'Balfour's regiment did not fire a shot, and only the half of Ramsay's made some little fire, Lieut.-Colonel Lauder was advantageously posted on the left of all on a little hill, wreathed with trees, with two hundred of the choice of our army, but did as little as the rest of that wing, whether by his or his men's fault it is not well known; for the General would never make enquiry into the failings of that business, because they were too generally committed.' A report of the day asserted that two of the Dutch regiments 'would not fight.' Was it a remembrance of the gallantry of Seneff that unnerved 'the picked men of the Dutch brigade,' or is the infusion of new blood a sufficient reason? Certainly Mackay trusted them as much afterwards as before, and Sir William Lockhart's reflection was a natural one, not unworthy of the attention of Army Reformers of the present day. 'It is a pity to give green men to good men to command them, for their running was the loss of all.'

The death of Dundee reversed the fortune at the crisis of the campaign, for something more than a training in the Scots Brigade was needed to inspire the Highlanders. Mackay set to work to repair his defeat, and summoned to Perth 'the three battalions of the Dutch regiments that had not been at the late encounter in Athole,' and during the campaign of the following year he committed to an officer, and picked detachments from the Scots Brigade, the carrying out of a measure on which he set great value. He had long desired to fix a thorn in the side of the Highlands, by constructing a fort and depot on the west coast, in

an advantageous position for controlling Lochaber and Morven, bridling Mull, and cutting the communication between King James's supporters in Scotland and his army in Ireland. Owing to the ambitions and intrigues in the Council, and lack of energy on the part of the political authorities, it was long before the General could get his project carried out. At last, thanks to the aid of the city of Glasgow, 600 chosen men were despatched in three frigates from Greenock, under the command of Major Ferguson of Lauder's regiment, whose commission as a Lieutenant has been previously quoted. The claymore which struck down Balfour had made him a field officer, and Mackay describes him as 'a resolute, well-affected officer, to whose discretion and diligence he trusted much.' His instructions charged him to 'do nothing active, but upon visible and apparent advantages and humane assurance of success,' but a descent on Mull was suggested, and he was to open communications and co-operate with the Laird of MacLeod. He and the naval commander were to use with all the rigour of military executions such as shall continue obstinate in their rebellion, with this proviso that women and children be not touched or wronged in their persons.' And one touch showed distinctly the hand of the worthy old officer, whom Burnet describes as the most pious of soldiers. 'The said Major commanding-in-chief shall have special care, his men be kept under exact discipline both as soldiours and christians, to hinder cursing and swearing and all other unchristian and disorderly customs, and to chastise in their purse and persons such as persist in them after intimation.' The expedition was a successful one. It accomplished a considerable destruction of houses and boats; many of the Highlanders staid at home to protect their country against it; and it kept the western clans from joining Buchan and Cannon in any considerable numbers. Several of the small islands between Cantyre and Mull submitted, and it was not without effect on the attitude of the Earl of Seaforth. After commencing the fort at Inverlochy, named Fort-William, Major Ferguson advanced to Locheil House, where he encamped until Mackay joined him from Perth at the head of the main army, of which the entire three regiments now formed a part. In the course of the summer the expiring embers of the

war were trodden out by successes of officers trained in the Dutch brigade, for Ferguson defeated the Jacobites in Mull, while Livingston, whose dragoons dispersed Buchan's force on the haughs of Cromdale, had previously served in it.

Two years later saw the Scots Brigade—part of which had meanwhile served in Ireland—once more arrayed on Dutch soil, under the command of their old General. They shared in the toils of the bloody and gloomy fields of Steinkirk and Landen, and under Brigadier Colyear, afterwards Earl of Portmore, covered the retreat of the allied army in 1695. Another Mackay who was their Brigadier, died at the siege of Namur, and the command was given to Robert Murray of Melgum, afterwards General Count Murray in the Imperial service. But their exact position at this period appears to have been peculiar, for at the Peace of Ryswick, the Scots Brigade returned to Britain, and was stationed in Scotland till 1698, when it was restored to the Dutch service. On the other hand the Cameronian regiment remained in Holland till 1699, in Dutch pay, and having some of its commissions flowing in Dutch.

During the campaigns of Marlborough the Brigade was commanded by John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich, and increased by three additional regiments. It took part in all the great battles, and on the costly field of Malplaquet there fell among its officers the Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Athole. The new regiments were disbanded at the peace of Utrecht.

For many years following, the duties of the Brigade were mainly those of garrison in Holland, but it is interesting to observe that in one regiment at least, the command was almost hereditary in a well-known Scotch family. General Mackay of Scourie had found Holland a more congenial soil than Sutherland, and his descendants settled there. He was succeeded in command of his regiment by a nephew, Brig.-General Æneas Mackay, whose son Donald held it after him, and fell at Fontenoy. The next generation were also represented among its officers, while old General Mackay's own son, who died with the rank of Major, in 1708, left two sons, the elder of whom died in 1775, a Dutch General and Colonel of the old regiment in which his

father and grandfather had served. To make the picture complete, his brother was Lieut.-Colonel of the same, as had been the case two generations before. Such a set of circumstances should of itself be conclusive evidence of the nationality hidden under the Dutch uniform.

The loosing of the elements of disturbance operated by the death of the Emperor, Charles VI., and Frederick of Prussia's swoop upon Silesia, cut out work once more for the Scots Brigade. The support given by the States to the claims of Maria Theresa and their adherence to the Quadruple Alliance, cost Holland dear in the loss of all the barrier towns, and although second battalions were raised, and at one time it mustered 6000 strong, the Scots Brigade suffered so severely that in 1747 it was reduced to 330 men. At Roucoux, General Colyear's regiment stood exposed for over two hours to incessant artillery fire, though by retiring a little it might have been placed under cover. It 'was thought requisite that they should appear in full view of the French.' Yet, under this severe ordeal, 'the whole Brigade seemed immoveable, except when the frequent breaches made in the ranks required to be closed up.' So steady were the Scotch soldiers that a Dutch General previously prejudiced against them, held them afterwards in high honour, and retorted on one occasion to a foreign Prince who criticised the size of the men compared with the German regiments:—'I saw the day that they looked taller than any of your grenadiers.' At Val and Bergen-op-Zoom there was much slaughter among the Scots, and in the unsuccessful defence of the latter place the struggle was so fierce that Colyear's battalion which went into action 660 strong, came out with 156 men. Major Murray quotes from an old writer this description of the strife:—'Overpowered by numbers, deserted and alone, the Scotch assembled in the market-place, and attacked the French with such vigour, that they drove them from street to street, till fresh reinforcements pouring in compelled them to retreat in their turn, disputing every inch as they retired, and fighting till two-thirds of their number fell on the spot, valiantly bringing their colours with them, which the grenadiers twice recovered from the midst of the French at the point of the bayonet. "Gentlemen," said the

conquering General to two officers who had been taken prisoners, —Lieutenants Travers and Allan MacLean—“had all conducted themselves as you and your brave corps have done, I should not now be master of Bergen-op-Zoom.”

In May of that year, Henry Douglas, Earl of Drumlanrig, whose tragic death seven years later closed a brave career, got a commission to raise a regiment of two battalions and twenty companies in the Highlands, for the service of the States of Holland, and when in 1749 the second battalion was reduced after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, it was brought back by him to Scotland at his own expense. There lies before us an order-book of this regiment from 8th February, 1748, to 14th August, 1749, which records the names of the officers and illustrates the discipline, and to some extent the dress of the old Scots Brigade. Judging from a reference to a non-commissioned officer broken at Burntisland, it would seem that the regiment embarked there, and during the period to which the book relates, it was stationed at Gorcum, in garrison at Breda, in cantonments at Vianen and the neighbourhood, in whole or in part at Bommel, and finally at Venlo. The activity of the tailors and several orders relating to exercise would indicate that the regiment had been recently raised, and on the 25th of March, 1748, the articles of war, of which two copies had been prepared in English, were ordered to be read over to the companies in turn. The order of the day concluded with a note in these terms :—‘As there are several of them that do not understand English, its expect that the officers will take care to have it explained in their own language, that not a man may pretend ignorance.’ At Gorcum, the day before the officers off duty were ordered,—‘to be at the Great Coffee-house to-morrow morning, half-an-hour before nine, in order to go and wait upon the Staits,’—and on the 2nd May, immediately before marching to join the garrison at Breda, the officers were ordered always to ‘bring their spontons with them’ to parade, ‘in order to learn to salut.’ On 16th May it is mentioned, ‘whoever has letters to send to their friends in Scotland, are to send them to the Coll’s quarters, who will get them free of postage,’ and, at Vianen, the festival of a national Saint is marked by an order not without interest. On ordinary occasions the parole was the name of

some Dutch town, but on the 30th November it is 'St. Andrew and Scotland,' and the order runs—'The men to be particularly careful to make no disturbance on the streets this night. The Patroles to goe every hour after Tattoe, and to confine all they can find making disturbances.' In garrisons which included troops of various nations, occasions of disturbance were not hard to find, and at Breda we find them provided against thus—'It must be told the men, man by man, that the soldiers of the respective regiments must live together in good harmony, the officers and under-officers to take care that no disturbance happens. Whoever disobeys these orders, whether in the fault or not, shall be severelie punished,' while a general order was issued by General van Leyden, on the same subject, a few days later. The discipline appears to have been good, though there are orders for detachments for the execution of prisoners, and one or two cases of drumming out. Thus, on 14th August, 1749, the general order runs,—'A captain, 3 subs., 6 sergts., and 150 granadiers, to be on the Parade at the Barricks, at 5 o'clock this afternoon, in order to whip away a corpl. of Lord Drumlanrig's Regt. The three Scots Batts. furnishes the above detachment.' The regimental order is more particular in improving the occasion for the benefit of the defaulter's comrades. 'Fifty grenadiers to be under arms at 5 this afternoon, on the parade of Genl. Stuart's regt., to whip out Charles Douglas, Corpl. of Granadeers, who, forgetting the tyes of Gratitude he owes to my Lord, and attempting to seduce the men to desert, has thereby rendered himself unworthy of being among honest people, for the above defaults, officers for that duty, Capt. Colquhoun and Lieut. Sutherland.' The carrying off of wood by the soldiers from the dykes and elsewhere seems to have been a subject of trouble with the municipal authorities, while one or two touches of a lighter character occasionally crop up. Thus, an information is taken at the guard-room upon Rod. M'Kenzie, for stabbing Captain Chalmers' dog, while on 4th May, 1749, 'Coll. Stuart begs that if any of the officers has the 4th volume of *Tom Jones*, they will be so good as return it.' On the 1st of July the regiment marched by Bois-le-Duc, St. Oudinroy, Helmont, and Meyle, to Venlo, and the orders illustrate the interest taken by

other kingdoms in the affairs of the Low Countries. At Helmont, on the 4th, it is observed 'as to-morrow's quarters is in the Austrian territories, it's expected that the men will be particularly careful of their behaviour,' while next day they are informed, 'as the Regt. is to march through the Prussian territories, the men must be extremely Regular in keeping their divisions, and not to straggle.' We can imagine the drill-masters of the most exacting of martinets, scanning with critical eyes the ranks of the Scottish soldiers, and it is satisfactory to find the order of the 6th, at Venlo, conclude thus:—'My Lord acquaints the battalion that he is very well satisfied wt. them for yr. behaviour upon the March To-day.' If these extracts give a peep into the economy and actual life of 'the old brigade,' the list of officers is noteworthy as showing how thoroughly Scotch it was. A Stewart was Lieut.-Colonel, the Majors were a Young and a Leslie, and the Captains, Sir George Colquhoun, a MacLeod, a M'Kie, a Douglas, a Macdonald, a Chalmers, a Johnstone, a Dundas, a Pringle, a Keith, a Cunningham, a Barbour, a Sinclair, an Oswald, a Stuart, and a MacLean. As was befitting, three Douglasses were found among the subalterns, and indeed the only gentleman whose name does not give him a passport to a Scottish regiment is one Lieut. John Budge.

A Lieut.-General Halket at the same time commanded a regiment in the service of the States, and the Brigade trained many an officer whose exertions were afterwards given to his own country. Some held high commands under Marlborough, and among those of a later date were Colonel Cunningham of Enterkin, General Murray, successor of Wolfe at Quebec and defender of Minorca, Sir Robert Murray Keith, General Fraser who fell at Saratoga, and Sir William Stirling of Ardoch.

The closing years of its service in Holland were not happy. It was to some extent reduced, and at the same time flooded with foreigners, while the disputes arising out of the American War made its position a far from enviable one. When the Dutch joined the Armed Neutrality, the Scottish officers petitioned that it should be recalled, but the request was refused, and when war broke out it was sent by the States to garrison the inland frontier. But in 1793 when the greatest contest Great Britain has ever

had forced upon her, had to be resolutely faced, Mr. Pitt was not the statesman to neglect any source of strength upon which he could draw. The Scots Brigade was then recalled, and as the 94th of the British line served at the Cape of Good Hope, in India, and throughout the Peninsular War. Disbanded in 1818, with other regiments, after the Peace of Paris, its long and stirring career of over 200 years came to an end, but there remained for it a fictitious existence, which introduces to a curious result. A new 94th was raised five years after the old was disembodied, and on this occasion, says Grant, 'the green standard of the old brigade of immortal memory was borne through the streets from the castle of Edinburgh by a soldier of the Black Watch, thus identifying the new regiment with the old.' Where are we to find it now? 'High-flying statesmen, who scorn tradition and make war upon custom,' perform marvellous feats, and when the representatives of the veterans on whom William of Orange principally relied, appear as 'Connaught Rangers,' it is impossible not to feel that a great step has been accomplished in the pacification of Ireland. In the metamorphosis which the British army has recently undergone, the 94th has been slumped with the 88th, and so baptized!

Much light is thrown upon national character, by the fact that the old title of the Scottish monarch was not King of Scotland, but 'King of Scots.' It was a title that held true in adversity as well as in prosperity, and might be retained in exile without pretence. *In partibus infidelium* it was still acknowledged, and the Scotsman, while he exhibited the full truth of the saying, *omne solum forti patria*, never forgot his nationality. The story of the old Brigade, which we have been able only to faintly sketch, is therefore an important phase of the history, if not of Scotland, at least of the Scottish nation. May we venture to express the hope that some one who has leisure and love for the subject, may render to the Scots Brigade the service which Father Forbes-Leith has paid to the men-at-arms who so faithfully held up the Lilies. The regimental books are preserved at the Hague, and the baptismal and marriage-registers of the Brigade, long deposited in the consistory chamber of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam, were surrendered to the municipality along with other records of

the same kind in 1811. When Stevens wrote his history of the church they were preserved in the Stadt-house, where no doubt they still remain. They cover most of the eighteenth century, and must afford valuable material for the student of genealogy. But interesting as that might be to some, it is on broader grounds that the enquiry is to be desiderated. The effect of the Brigade as a fighting force, the influence of the private relations and aims of individuals trained in it on public events, the enterprise and the aspirations to which it gave scope, and the principles and opinions to which its existence bore witness, open a wide field of reflection, and to work it out would be to add much that might help in the true appreciation of the past. But whether the quest advanced us a little towards a Philosophy of History or not, it were bound to yield an inspiring record of Scottish endurance and Scottish prowess.

ART. III.—MR. SWINBURNE'S DEBT TO THE BIBLE.

MR. SWINBURNE does not pose before the world as an admirer of the Old and New Testaments. On the contrary, he refers again and again to their teaching in terms of hatred and contempt, which are stronger than the strongest expressions of Shelley in 'Queen Mab.' His own chosen Scriptures are professedly writings of a wholly different type, since he has told us of a certain French novel—

'This is the golden book of spirit and sense,
The holy writ of beauty ;'

and he has spoken to its author of that inspiration which

'With all love of all things loveliest
Gave thy soul power to make them more divine.'

The teaching of this golden book is, it is hardly necessary to remark, a mere gospel of self-indulgence—an apocalypse of passion untrained by law. Nevertheless the phraseology of the Hebrew Scrip-

tures clings curiously about the modern poet, and the memory of their stories haunts his earlier writings perpetually. It is only in his later productions that he shakes himself free from their influence, and finds words and imagery fitter for his own conceptions; as in 'Tristram of Lyonesse,' where his language is altogether that of the modern school, of which he is the great leader. It differs from that of Mr. Rosetti, inasmuch as the splendour of 'The House of Life' is full of quaint mediævalism, whereas the eloquence of 'Tristram of Lyonesse' is warm with languorous romance. In this poem Mr. Swinburne has abandoned that reflection of the Hebrew fire which was incongruously at war with the theories of Hebrew virtue. Babylon and Gethsemane have at last ceased to intrude in the realms of romance, and Mr. Swinburne's muse wanders freely in her natural home. She leads us among bowers

'more fair
Than ever summer dews and sunniest air
Fed full with rest and radiance,'

and introduces us to knights and ladies whose faith to each other is faithlessness to all the world besides, and who acknowledge no social duty save that of an utter self-abandonment to the passion of love. And her phraseology fits her theme. It is full of all beauty that satisfies the sense; lines that flow on like sweet music, of the soft bubbling of a summer stream; words that follow as if they loved one another and were subdued to 'amorous' harmony; pictures and images that are vivid and soft at the same moment. There is no tinge of Hebraism in such writing as this—

'and she
Set her face hard against the yearning sea.
Now all athirst with trembling heart of hope
To see the sudden gates of sunrise ope.'

In the story of 'Tristram and Iseult,' Mr. Swinburne seems to have found a theme which suits him to perfection, the story of lovers whose love was a defiance to law and custom, and whose truth to each other was a deception of those who trusted them most. This truth to each other is the element of nobility which gives the poem its one touch of moral beauty amid so much beauty

that is only material. Yet in admitting it Mr. Swinburne wavers from his earlier ideal, which seemed to represent a love true only to the moment in which it was born, and lovers who changed their mind continually but their manners never. The passion was to be always the same, only the object different. At one time the poet suggests that a month is long enough for one love to last, at another he gives us twenty-four hours as its utmost limit.

‘ His wings will not rest and his feet will not stay for us ;
 Morning is here in the joy of its might :
 With his breath has he sweetened a night and a day for us,
 Now let him pass, and the myrtle make way for us ;
 Love can but last in us here at his height
 For a day and a night.’

His earliest heroines appeared to win his admiration by their abominable and illimitable wickedness, which formed an alluring contrast to their beauty. Of Faustine, he says—

‘ God’s part in you was battered out ;
 Long since, Faustine ;’

of Dolores—

‘ Thy sins, which are seventy times seven,
 Seven ages would fail thee to purge in,
 And then they would haunt thee in heaven ;’

of Felise—

‘ Swift and white
 And subtly warm, and half perverse,
 And sweet like sharp soft fruit to bite,
 And like a snake’s love lithe and fierce ;’

of Fragoletta—

‘ Thou hast a serpent in thine hair,
 In all the curls that close and cling ;’

of Queen Mary—

‘ That fair face and the cursed heart in her,
 Made keener than a knife for man-slaying ;’

and of her reddening

‘at the mouth, with the blood of men.
Sucking between small teeth the sap o’ the veins,
Dabbling with death her little tender lips.’

Some of these ideas are not unlike those of Heine in ‘Das Leidschen von der Reue,’ but the wickedness of Heine’s heroine was idealistic and full of imagination,—that of Mr. Swinburne’s realistic and teeming with sensuousness.

‘Drum gleicht dies Mündlein gar genau
Den hübschen Rosenbütschen,
Wo gift’ge Schlangen wunderschlau
Im dunkeln Laube zischen.’

The serpent-like qualities here are revealed as venomous but secret, hidden away under fair appearances; those of Mr. Swinburne’s heroines are paraded as part of the ladies’ charm. Heine represents himself as indifferent to his heroine’s feelings, if only he may have her caresses:

‘Du hassest, hassest mich sogar,
So spricht dein rothes Mündchen;
Reich mir es nur zum Küssen dar,
So tröst ich mich, mein Kindchen.’

Mr. Swinburne goes much farther than this in his poem, ‘At a Month’s End’—

‘No soul she hath, we see, to outlive her;
Hath she for that no lips to kiss?’

It is difficult to discover in these earlier poems of Mr. Swinburne any ideals except those of physical beauty and general rebellion against established morality. He calls one of his idols Freedom, but no freedom can exist without protection, no protection without law and limitation of individual indulgence; and these are things for which no room seems to be left in his philosophy. Before his ‘holy writ’ can become a safe guide to a people, the laws which govern nature as well as the laws which govern nations must be changed; and such a change cannot be looked for even in the hopeful time of which Mr. Swinburne has told us, contrasting it with the past—

' And all the old westward face of time grown grey
Was writ with cursing and inscribed for death,
But on the face that met the morning's breath
Fear died of hope as darkness dies of day.'

But the new hope which can slay the old fears must be linked with a glad obedience to higher laws than those of individual impulse. Nature must still, as of old, be conquered by obeying her, by a comprehension of her conditions, and a submission to them. Mr. Swinburne's theories are, on the contrary, rampant with defiance of law and disregard of limits. And so it comes to pass that in his love-pictures there is no room for little children.

Who could choose Faustine, Fragoletta, or Dolores,—'Our Lady of Pain,'—for the mother of his children—of any children? Mr. Swinburne loves childhood, and perceives all its charm and beauty, as his later poems have proved. Are not children, however, like other beautiful things, a consequence? Are not their lovable qualities results of which the causes are more or less evident? And moral rebellion hates consequences; it denies them as fervently as if they were false gods; it demands for the acts of man isolation, for their sequences, extinction; it requires, in its own justification, that every deed of man should begin and end with itself, and not be, as it must be, a link and a cause.

When Mr. Swinburne touches other subjects, he can, however, remember the little children, and plead eloquently for the rights of infancy. He waxes hot with indignation at the suffering which tyranny may bring on the innocent:

' By the child that famine eats as worms the blossom—
Ah, God, the child !
By the milkless lips that stain the bloodless bosom
Till woe runs wild.'

It is, nevertheless, a fact that more children suffer from disease which private sin has engendered than from famine produced by public tyranny. There are thousands of wretched babies who live a short life,—which life might be more truly described as a long death,—because the self indulgence of their parents has bequeathed to them for their only birthright suffering and sickness. And if they carry their tainted existence beyond the years of childhood, it is too often only to reveal a moral disease as

truly inherited as the material one. The sin which in the parents was—so far as we can perceive—a voluntary self-indulgence, becomes in the child a cruel need, which finds only a weakened will to resist it; and then, by slow and tedious means, nature at last—sometimes in the course of many generations—extirpates those terrible consequences which the selfishness of one generation so rashly brought upon its successors. If Mr. Swinburne's love of children had ever led him to attempt the rescue of an innocent child from degrading associations, he would have perceived how futile were *his* efforts, or the efforts of any outsider, to restore to the victim—'Ah, God, the child!'—that birthright of moral and physical health of which it had been robbed by its parents. Would he not also have been compelled to acknowledge that in his earlier poems he sang the praises of tyrants, who in their self-indulgence work more woe among the innocent than it was ever in the power of Napoleon III. to accomplish?

'To say of shame—what is it?
Of virtue—we can miss it;
Of sin—we can but kiss it,
And its no longer sin.'

This was indeed a poor preface for the song of freedom and the fierce denunciation of tyrants. And what can we say of such a boast as this—

'But there is nothing, nor shall be,
So sweet, so wicked, but my verse
Can dream of worse.'

Does it not come strangely from one who afterwards ventured to address 'two leaders' in this lofty manner—

'Our hopes are higher,
And higher than yours the goal of our desire,
Though high your ends be as your hearts are great
 . . . Go honoured hence, go home,
Night's childless children; here your hour is done;
Pass with the stars, and leave us with the sun.'

Victor Hugo, whom Mr. Swinburne loves to praise, has a wider vision and a nobler dream than this. He sees beyond the desires of man to their results, and he prefers to crown with po-

etic praise those aspirations which work to the benefit of many rather than those indulgences which sacrifice many to the pleasure of one. In *his* love stories the children are not absent. In 'Les Misérables' Tholomyés forsook Fantine with the assurance that she had made him happy for a couple of years. That was his share of the transaction, and—from his point of view and Mr. Swinburne's—its justification. But among the results there was left to Fantine—Cosette. The picture of the struggle of the poor girl under the disadvantages of loneliness and weakness to maintain the child left so cruelly on her hands is one of the most terrible in literature, terrible because it may so easily have been, in a multitude of like instances, true. It is not the father of the child, but another sort of man altogether, who ultimately rescues it from degradation and misery; and his help comes too late to save the mother. In many actual cases the mothers of such children do not sacrifice themselves, as did Cosette; they repeat the cruel selfishness of the father, and then we hear of child-murders and of baby-farming; but even these evils, which occasionally come openly to the front, are nothing to those which lurk unspoken of in the background of degraded lives, the disease and misery which waste the souls and bodies of children from the cradle to the grave. It is pitiful to contrast the actual existence of such infants—children of sin—with the picture of infancy given to us by Mr. Swinburne—

'Nay, in some more divine
Small speechless song of thine
Some news too good for words,
Heart hushed and smiling, we
Might hope to have of thee,
The youngest of God's birds,
If thy sweet sense might mix itself with ours,
If ours might understand
The language of thy land,
Ere thine became the tongue of mortal hours.'

Such a child belongs to a virtuous home and orderly parents; it has no place in a picture of splendid vice. Even Tennyson, in his great moral vision of the sin of Guinevere and Lancelot, has dared to put no child upon the scene.

' Well is it that no child is born of thee.
The children born of thee are sword and fire,
Red ruin, and the breaking up of laws,
The craft of kindred and the godless hosts
Of heathen swarming o'er the northern sea.'

Would not the golden head of Guinevere have been shorn for us of its queenly beauty, and the knightly courtesy of Lancelot have lost its poetic charm, if every possible result of their sin had been realized? When we consider, therefore, Mr. Swinburne's theory of love in connection with the Christian doctrine of chastity, it is all the more singular to find how freely he has borrowed the phraseology of a religion which he professes to hate and despise.

Mr. Rossetti fell into a curious mistake of taste in his sonnet of 'Love's Redemption,' where, if the imagery is not meaningless, it can only be regarded as shocking. But he acknowledged his error, and altered the sonnet to another form. It would not perhaps be possible to find in Mr. Swinburne's poetry more than a single instance of the use of incongruous imagery so repelling as this; but the quotations, the refrains from old biblical stories, the application of well-known forms of speech to unsuitable subjects, are very numerous. It is undoubtedly possible for religious phraseology to be adapted to unusual themes with very striking results, but such an adaptation must be sparingly used if it is to produce any fine effects. In Mr. Swinburne's earlier poems the echoes of biblical verses are so frequent, and often so inapt, that they produce only an impression of weakness. We feel in reading them that the special pleading must be very poor indeed which can find no forms of its own in which to utter itself, but must borrow old sayings and clothe itself in strange resemblances. Had the new gods of the poet's vision no fitting garments of their own, that they must appear before the world in 'old clothes' from Hebrew sources, as in the 'Hymn to Man'?

' Glory to Man in the Highest ! for Man is the master of things.'

Or 'A Watch in the Night,' where the whole poem is worked lengthily out from a simple old text? It is a series of eight-lined stanzas beginning respectively, 'Watchman, what of the night?'

'Prophet, what of the night?' and so on through a list of questions addressed to mourners, dead men, statesman, warrior, master, exile, captives, Christian, high priest, princes, martyrs, England, France, Italy, Germany, Europe, and liberty,—rather too long a catalogue to be worked out effectively. But this fault of length and repetition spoils many of Mr. Swinburne's earlier poems. Too often they may be described as 'Theme, with variations'; and the theme is frequently borrowed from old sources; so that, instead of a great production from a new master, with a fitting introduction, elaboration, and close, we have frequently a kind of play upon old words, adapted to thoughts of which the unsuitability is more striking than the novelty.

In 'Super Flumina Babylonis,' we have the well-known form but little altered :—

' By the waters of Babylon we sat down and wept,
 Remembering thee,
 That for ages of agony hast endured, and slept,
 And would not see.'

And the original of the following paraphrase is not far to seek :—

' In thy grief had we followed thee, in thy passion loved,
 Loved in thy loss ;
 In thy shame we stood fast to thee, with thy pangs were moved,
 Clung to thy cross.

' By the hill-side of Calvary we beheld thy blood,
 Thy blood-red tears,
 As a mother's in bitterness, an unebbing flood,
 Years upon years.

' And the north was Gethsemane, without leaf or bloom,
 A garden sealed ;
 And the south was Aceldama, for a sanguine fume
 Hid all the field.

' By the stone of the sepulchre we returned to weep,
 From far, from prison ;
 And the guards by it keeping it we beheld asleep,
 But thou wast risen.

' And an angel's similitude by the unsealed grave,
 And by the stone :

And the voice was angelical, to whose words God gave
Strength like his own.

'Lo, the grave-clothes of Italy that were folded up
In the grave's gloom :
And the guards as men wrought upon with a charmed cup,
By the open tomb.

'And her body most beautiful, and her shining head—
These are not here ;
For your mother, for Italy is not surely dead :
Have ye no fear.

* * * * *

'Unto each man his handiwork, unto each man his crown
The just Fate gives :
Whoso takes the world's life and his own lays down,
He, dying so, lives.

'Whoso bears the whole heaviness of the wronged world's weight
And puts it by,
It is well for him suffering, though he face man's fate,—
How should he die ?

'Seeing death hath no part in him any more, no power
Upon his head ;
He has bought his eternity with a little hour,
And is not dead.

'For an hour, if ye look for him, he is no more found,
For one hour's space ;
Then ye lift up your eyes to him and behold him crowned,
A deathless face.'

While the line,

'So the angel of Italy's resurrection said,'

is taken obviously from a later book of the New Testament.

It is in fact difficult to imagine that Mr. Swinburne, in spite of his splendid gifts, could have originated thoughts of self-sacrifice such as those in the lines beginning—

'Whoso bears the whole heaviness of the whole world's weight.'

His nearest approach in original thought to such a conception of the choice between self-indulgence and virtuous renunciation,

is to be found in the poem for which he has borrowed the biblical title of 'Genesis.'

'For in each man and each year that is born
Are sown the twin seeds of the strong twin powers :
The white seed of the fruitful helpful morn,
The black seed of the barren hurtful hours.

'And he that of the black seed eateth fruit,
To him the savour as honey shall be sweet ;
And he in whom the white seed hath struck root,
He shall have sorrow and trouble and tears for meat.

'And him whose lips the sweet fruit hath made red
In the end men loathe and make his name a rod ;
And him whose mouth on the unsweet fruit hath fed
In the end men follow and know for very God.'

In 'Quia Multum Amavit,' where the place of the penitent Magdalen is given to France and that of Christ to Liberty, we have these verses :—

'Yet I know thee turning back now to behold me,
To bow thee and make thee bare,
Not for sin's sake but penitence, by my feet to hold me,
And wipe them with thine hair.

'And sweet ointment of thy grief thou hast brought thy master,
And set before thy lord,
From a box of flawed and broken alabaster,
Thy broken spirit, poured.

'And love-offerings, tears and perfumes, hast thou given me,
To reach my feet and touch ;
Therefore thy sins, which are many, are forgiven thee,
Because thou hast loved much.'

'A wasted Vigil' puts before us again, with singular inappropriateness, the well known words,

'Couldst thou not watch with me one hour ?'

In the verses, 'Blessed among Women,' where the position of the Virgin is given to the Signora Cairoli, we have these lines—

'But four times art thou blest,
At whose most holy breast

Four times a god-like soldier-saviour hung ;
And thence a four-fold Christ
Given to be sacrificed
To the same cross as the same bosom clung.'

In the poem entitled, 'Before a Crucifix,' we read—

' O sacred head, O desecrate,
O labour-wounded feet and hands,
O blood poured forth in pledge to fate
Of nameless lives in divers lands !
O slain and spent and sacrificed
People, the grey-grown speechless Christ !
* * * * *

' The soldiers and the high priests part
Thy vesture : all thy days are priced,
And all the nights that eat thine heart,
And that one seamless coat of Christ,
The freedom of the natural soul,
They cast their lots for to keep whole.'

And here perhaps there is something fine in the comparison, something striking in the simile. But in the sonnets entitled 'The Saviour of Society,' where the story of the Immaculate Conception is closely followed, but altered to fit a scandal about a public character, the comparison is simply revolting. Whoever may choose to reject the story of the Incarnation as it is related in the New Testament, no one can truthfully suggest that it was intended as a cloak for a sensual history. To transform it into such a thing is to offer an insult to those ideals of purity which we all—whatever may be our religious beliefs—desire to cherish.

The first sonnet is unquotable ; the second (dated Dec., 1869) proceeds in this fashion :—

' Thine incarnation was upon this wise,
Saviour ; and out of east and west were led
To thy foul cradle by thy planet red
Shepherds of souls that feed their sheep with lies,
Till the utter soul die as the body dies,
And the wise men that ask but to be fed
Though the hot shambles be their board and bed,
And sleep on any dunghill shut their eyes,
So they lie warm and fatten in the mire :
And the high priest enthroned yet in thy name,

Judas, baptized thee with men's blood for hire ;
 And now thou hangest nailed to thine own shame
 In sight of all time, but while heaven has flame
 Shall find no resurrection from hell-fire.'

The sonnets on 'Mentana: Second Anniversary,' are full of cursing and bitterness beyond the limits of poetic taste ; for the hate of poetry ought to be as lofty as its own ideals, and not as low as the object of its execration. Such an aspiration as the following is unfit for a poet's lips—

'Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,
 That I may live to say "The dog is dead!"'

The two more sonnets, 'Mentana: Third Anniversary' (dated 1870), breathe the same violent spirit: the two entitled 'The Descent into Hell' (1873) end with a pitiless reference to the load of guilt on

'this one man's head
 Whose soul to-night stands bodiless and bare,
 For whom our hearts give thanks who put up prayer,
 That we have lived to say, "The dog is dead."'

'Peter's Pence from Perugia' contains the following mixture of fierce hatred and Scriptural allusions—

'Gather thy gold up, Judas, all thy gold,
 And buy thee death ; no Christ is here to sell,
 But the dead earth of poor men bought and sold,
 While year heaps year above thee safe in hell,
 To grime thy grey dishonourable head
 With dusty shame, when thou art damned and dead.'

In 'Papal Allocution,' we have references to 'Judas,' 'Iscaiot,' and 'Judas the Second.' The sonnet following this one, with its title borrowed from the denunciations of Isaiah, 'The Burden of Austria,' begins with the well-known form—

'O daughter of pride, wasted with misery.'

The sonnets entitled 'Intercession' are composed not altogether in accordance with the Christian meaning of that word, being an entreaty to death to spare a public enemy longer, that he may have time for more suffering—

'Till the coiled soul, an evil snake-shaped beast,
Eat its base bodily lair of flesh away.'

'A Song of Italy' contains many verses in the manner of Psalm cxlviii., each beginning with 'Praise him;' as 'Praise him, O all her cities and her crowns,' etc. In 'Mater Dolorosa' we find the borrowed line—

'Is it nothing unto you then, all ye that pass by?'

and

'The kings of the earth stood up,
And the rulers took counsel together, to smite her and slay.'

In the 'Hymn of Man' there occurs this paraphrase of Elijah's address to the priests of Baal—

'Cry aloud; for your God is a God and a Saviour, cry, make yourselves
lean;
Is he drunk or asleep, that the rod of his wrath is unfelt and unseen?
* * * * *
Cry, cut yourselves, gash you with knives and with scourges, heap on to
you dust;
Is his life but as other gods' lives? is not this the Lord God of your trust?
* * * * *
He hath doffed his king's raiment of lies, now the wane of his kingdom is
come;
Ears hath he, and hears not; and eyes, and he sees not; a mouth, and is
dumb.'

The 'Litany of Nations,' addressed to the Earth, contains this stanza—

'By the blood-sweat of the people in the garden
Inwalled of kings;
By his passion interceding for their pardon
Who do these things.'

From 'Studies in Song' we may take the following play upon the doctrine of the Trinity as given in the Nicene and Athanasian creeds. It is used with reference to the encroachments of the sea upon the English coast—

'Change of change, darkness of darkness, hidden,
Very death of very death, begun

When none knows,—the knowledge is forbidden—
 Self-begotten, self-proceeding, one,
 Born, not made—abhorred, unchained, unhidden,
 Night stands here defiant of the sun.

' Change of change, and death of death begotten,
 Darkness born of darkness, one and three,
 Ghostly godhead of a world forgotten,
 Crowned with heaven, enthroned on land and sea ;
 Here where earth with dead men's bones is rotten,
 God of Time, thy likeness worships thee.

' Lo, thy likeness of thy desolation,
 Shape and figure of thy might, O Lord,
 Formless form, incarnate miscreation,
 Served of all things living and abhorred ;
 Earth herself is here thine incarnation,
 Time, of all things born on earth adored.'

This lavish use of religious allusions and scriptural quotations is certainly remarkable in one who cherishes so intense a hatred for all religious doctrine. It is as if this warrior had to borrow his opponent's armour before he could go to battle ; and the armour does not fit him well or really assist in the fight, for the phraseology of Christianity does not readily adapt itself to Mr. Swinburne's subjects. Where he unchristianizes himself altogether, and attacks his opponents from a heathen point of view, he shews his true strength. In the 'Hymn to Proserpine,' for example, he breaks away from incongruous imagery and writes splendid poetry, splendid because it *represents something* ; it can stand alone, and has no borrowed beauty. It is a direct attack and defiance, and, true or untrue, is beautiful in its directness and strength.

' Thou hast conquered, O pale Galilean ; the world has grown grey from
 thy breath ;

We have drunken of things Lethean, and fed on the fulness of death.'

Here Mr. Swinburne knew what he had to say, and said it magnificently. The poem, 'Before a Crucifix,' from which some verses have already been quoted, contains also many noble lines, uttering a truth which we recognize, though we may hardly yet know how to reconcile it with other truths.

' And mouldering now and hoar with moss
Between us and the sunlight swings
The phantom of a Christless cross
Shadowing the sheltered heads of kings,
And making with its moving shade
The souls of harmless men afraid.
* * * * *

' Set not thine hand unto their cross,
Give not thy soul up sacrificed,
Change not the gold of faith for dross
Of Christian creeds that spit on Christ.
Let not thy tree of freedom be
Regrafted from that rotting tree.
* * * * *

' O hidden face of man, wherover
The years have woven a viewless veil,
If thou wast verily man's lover,
What did thy love or blood avail?
Thy blood the priests make poison of,
And in gold shekels coin thy love.
* * * * *

' When we would see thee, man, and know
What heart thou hadst towards men indeed,
Lo, thy blood-blackened altars ; lo,
The lips of priests that pray and feed
While their own hell's worm curls and licks
The poison of the crucifix.

' God of this grievous people, wrought
After the likeness of their race,
By faces like thine own besought,
Thine own blind helpless eyeless face,
I too, that have no tongue nor knee
For prayer, I have a word to thee.
* * * * *

' Nay, if indeed thou be not dead,
Before thy terrene shrine be shaken,
Look down, turn usward, bow thine head ;
O thou that wast of God forsaken,
Look on thine household here, and see
Those that have not forsaken thee.

' Thy faith is fire upon their lips,
Thy kingdom golden in their hands ;
They scourge us with thy words for whips,
They brand us with thy words for brands ;

The thirst that made thy dry throat shrink
To their moist mouths commends the drink.

'The toothed thorns that bit thy brows
Lighten the weight of gold on theirs ;
Thy nakedness enrobes thy spouse
With the soft sanguine stuff she wears,
Whose old limbs use for ointment yet
Thine agony and bloody sweat.

'The blinding buffets on thine head
On their crowned heads confirm the crown,
Thy scourging dyes their raiment red,
And with thy bands they fasten down
For burial in the blood-bought field
The nations by thy stripes unhealed.'

But the dignity of tone is destroyed altogether in the following stanzas, by the obvious unfairness of imputing to Christ the sins of his so-called followers ; sins openly at variance with the teaching of his own life and lips. The final address to the crucifix is simply brutal.

'Thou bad'st let children come to thee ;
What children now but curses come ?
What manhood in that God can be
Who sees their worship and is dumb ?
No soul that lived, loved, wrought, and died,
Is this their carrion crucified ?

'Nay, if their God and thou be one,
If thou and this thing be the same,
Thou shouldst not look upon the sun ;
The sun grows haggard at thy name.'
Come down, be done with, cease, give o'er ;
Hide thyself, strive not, be no more.'

Who can read these lines, remembering the teaching of Christ and the teaching of Mr. Swinburne, and feel anything but revolted, not by the audacity, but by the unfitness and untruthfulness of such words as addressed by one to the memory of the other ?

Mr. Swinburne has hardly any moral force of a direct sort, therefore he has only once or twice succeeded in reaching the moral heights of poetic beauty, and carrying us along by his ar-

dent spirit as well as his fluent words. But he has abundant moral force of the indirect sort as discovered in Byron by Mr. Ruskin; for he has that love of beauty which is one step on the way to virtue in poetry as elsewhere. 'Laus Veneris' contains many beautiful lines, as, for example,

'Lo, this is she that was the world's delight;
The old grey years were parcels of her might;
The strewing of the ways wherein she trod
Were the twain seasons of the day and night;'

and the following, although the first is disfigured by the allusion to that 'flesh' of which in the beginning of his life Mr. Swinburne seemed to be so painfully conscious,

'Ah, yet would God this flesh of mine might be
Where air might wash and long leaves cover me,
Where tides of grass break into foam of flowers,
Or where the wind's feet shine along the sea.'

The imagery of the last two lines is perfect in its suggestive beauty. Very weak, however, are two other lines in the same poem, in which Mr. Swinburne measures the attractions of his religion against those of the religion he attacks.

'Alas, Lord! surely thou art great and fair,
But lo, her wonderfully woven hair.'

Are we not landed here in bathos, and a bathos of fact as well as words?

When Mr. Swinburne attacked the principles to which the world has long professed obedience, he should have offered in their place principles which were more and not less attractive to the moral sense. It is hardly likely that we shall reject the religion of Christ for the worship of Venus, or transfer our reverence from saints and martyrs to Dolores and Fragoletta. If mankind is to change its creed, it must be for the better and not for the worse. If the profession of a faith, whose keynote is a pure unselfishness of life, has not succeeded in keeping man pure and unselfish, we cannot reasonably suppose that the profession of an impure creed will improve the condition of humanity. Mr. Matthew Arnold's appeal to us on the subject comes from a

higher level than Mr. Swinburne's, though it is not so splendidly adorned with all the decorative appliances of poetry.

' So Christ said eighteen hundred years ago.

And what then shall be said to those to-day
Who cry aloud to lay the old world low
To clear the new world's way.

' Religious fervours ! ardeur misapplied !

" Hence, hence," they cry, " ye do but keep men blind ;
But keep him self-immersed, pre-occupied,
And lame the active mind."

' Ah ! from the old world let some one answer give :

" Scorn ye this world, their tears, their inward cares ?
I say unto you, see that your souls live
A deeper life than theirs."

' Say ye : " The spirit of man has found new roads,
And we must leave the old faiths of man and walk therein."
Leave then the Cross as ye have left carved gods,
But guard the fire within !

* * * * *

' Children of men ! not that your age excel

In pride of life the ages of your sires,
But that you think clear, feel deep, bear fruit well,
The Friend of Man desires.'

And again this appeal to our higher aspirations which makes use in a justifiable manner of the old ideal it professes itself almost ready to reject.

' Long fed on boundless hopes, O race of man,
How angrily thou spurn'st all simpler fare !

" Christ," some one says, " was human as we are,
No judge eyes us from heaven, our sin to scan.

' " We live no more, when we have done our span."

" Well, then, for Christ," thou answerest, " who can care ?
From sin, which Heaven records not, why forbear ?
Live we like brutes our life without a plan !"

' So answerest thou : but why not rather say—

" Hath man no second life ? *Pitch this one high !*
Sits there no judge in Heaven, our sin to see ?"—

' *More strictly, then, the inward judge obey !*

Was Christ a man like us ?—*Ah ! let us try*
If we then, too, can be such men as he !'

For the world that has studied so long, however blindly, stupidly, and vainly, the heart of Christ, cannot turn back to satisfaction with that merely material beauty which is revealed as the new gospel of poetry; it cannot be content to reject a noble law for a selfish so-called liberty, nor yet to relinquish that religion of love which finds its realization in denial of self and beneficence to others, in order to replace it by the worship of a passion, which at its very best sacrifices the rest of the world to the indulgence of a dual selfishness.

ART. IV.—FLAWS IN PHILANTHROPY.

AMONG all the many changes which have come to pass during the course of the nineteenth century none is more noteworthy than the marvellous growth of the sentiment of universal brotherhood. Even war, the most deadly foe of that sentiment, has had to bow to its mighty force. The bullet which stretches a man wounded on the battle-field at once transforms him from a deadly foe into a suffering brother, and ever close behind the thundering guns come the red cross banners, knowing neither nation, tribe, nor kindred, only suffering humanity. In truth, comparing the general sentiment concerning war with that which prevailed a hundred years since, it does not appear now merely the dream of a wild enthusiast to look forward to a time when men shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning hooks. Apart from war it is hardly too much to say that the nineteenth century has seen nationality absolutely extinguished where misfortune is concerned. Let any disaster befall a nation, community, even a tribe, and the immediate impulse of the whole civilized world is to try to do something to alleviate the consequent distress. In this respect the world has become one great community, divided only into families.

Of course the first duty of the family is to minister to the wants of its own members, and in that respect too the development of the century has been very wonderful. Not very long since

The Times published a brief abstract of statistics from the *Classified Directory to all Metropolitan Charities*, the summing up of which is that the number of charitable institutions or funds, which are actually situated in London, or have their head-quarters there, amounts to 1003 with a total income of £4,313,275. Another very useful little volume *Low's Hand-book to the Charities of London*, gives the date of the foundation of almost every one of these funds or institutions, and it is worth noting what a very large percentage of them date from some year during the present, or the extreme end of the preceding century. Add to this list the local charities existing in every town of any size in England and Scotland, as well as those freely scattered about in rural districts, and note in their case also the number that date their origin from some year during the same period, and not only is the development of active philanthropy shown to be extraordinary, but the amount of expenditure, both in money and personal exertion, must be allowed to be enormous.

The volume last mentioned is not exactly of the class which one would take up to amuse an idle half hour, nevertheless it is one to make one think; now and again to give a severe jolt to one's conceptions of the meaning of the word 'Charities.' We find (page 37) notice of a 'Coffee Taverns Company (Limited). To promote the establishment of coffee taverns on commercial principles, by a Limited Liability Company.' Page 99, records the existence of a Metropolitan Association for improving the dwellings of the Industrious Classes, with dividends of 5 per cent. and a guarantee fund of £12,000. If these are 'charitable institutions' philanthropy seems to have become a very comprehensive term.

But this is not all. The compilers of this volume seem also to regard the effort to drive common sense into the heads of voluntary supporters of charitable institutions as a branch of philanthropy, for they give a place to 'The Charity Voting Reform Association,' nor are they superior to the temptation of perpetrating a profane joke. The august 'Charity Commission,' has actually been accorded a place under the heading 'Relief of Distress'! Whose distress? That we conclude of agonized or perplexed administrators of charitable bequests to

which have been attached some of those eccentric conditions whereby benevolent testators occasionally contrive to insure that all generations shall call them cursed.

The book may well, however, provide a text for more serious reflections than these. We may demur to giving limited liability companies a place among charitable institutions, but such institutions should certainly be managed on sound commercial principles; and though by no means entitled to speak authoritatively on commercial topics, we think we may venture to hazard the assertion, that no commercial undertaking would be held to be conducted on sound principles which did not secure a fair return for the amount of capital invested. Where philanthropic effort is in question this principle cannot, we admit, be rigidly carried out, if for no other reason, still for the conclusive one that many beneficial results of such efforts, being indirect rather than direct, cannot be formally tabulated. Still, just as an experienced man of business might be able in the case of some commercial undertaking to predict more or less failure in results, without being in any way acquainted with them, merely from certain defects in management brought under his notice, so it does not seem hard, in the case of philanthropic effort in general, to perceive causes which must inevitably lead to what we think any disinterested judges will admit to be a well grounded conclusion, that results are not what they should be, considering the enormous amount of both money and personal exertion expended in their attainment.

We have no intention of taking up in detail hackneyed charges against philanthropic exertion. It is easy enough to take the report of this or that charitable institution, or fund, work out elaborate calculations on paper, and then demonstrate that working expenses are out of all proportion to income, or that the amount of benefit conferred is absurdly small in reference to expenditure. Such calculations are generally worked with such an absolute ignoring of very important factors, that one is naturally led to conclude their real object is rather to provide an excuse for refusing to listen to appeals for support, than to aid the cause of reform. None the less, with all factors taken into consideration, we are quite prepared to grant that there is found-

ation for the accusations. Can we from examination of the general tenor of philanthropic procedure arrive at any conclusions which would lead us, *a priori* to predict such partial failure?

In order to arrive at any trustworthy conclusion regarding philanthropic procedure it is well, in the first place, to consider the subject matter with which it has to deal. This brings forward a very comprehensive question. Why is there any cause in this world for philanthropic exertion? Because there is sin, the theologian will reply, and without risk of gainsaying. But what is sin? The great crux of theologians, is the flippant reply which most naturally suggests itself; but it is hardly one providing a firm basis on which to found a theory. An answer has, however, been given by a very deep thinker, which, without solving the great problem of the origin of evil, is pregnant with practical conclusions, and abundantly sufficient for our present purpose. 'The essence of sin is selfishness, the essence of selfishness is individualism.' In individualism, therefore, we are to seek the tap root from which the deadly upas tree of selfishness draws its nourishment, spreading its baleful influence abroad throughout all this otherwise fair world of ours. Banish selfishness from the earth, and what would become of philanthropy—in a concrete form? If the strong had never trampled on the rights of the weak; if there had never been greedy grasping at wealth, careless of who was overthrown in the struggle; if there had never been selfish squandering, regardless of the welfare of future generations, or more evil self-indulgence preparing for them both a physical and moral blight; if, in brief, throughout all ages, man to man had unswervingly acted truly, justly, and mercifully, what amount of evil would be left for philanthropy to act upon?

Here, then, as far as the question is a practical one, we seem to have got to the root of the matter. At least from the day when that portentous question was asked—'Am I my brother's keeper?' the selfishness of each succeeding generation has been helping to build up that huge mountain of evil to which, alas, everyone of us is, in his day and generation, only too apt to contribute his share; either positively, by making self in all things the end of all endeavour; or negatively by passing by

the mass of evil 'on the other side,' or—and this brings us at once to the direct subject under consideration—in a third way, which seems to partake to some extent of the nature of both negative and positive, by hindering the perfect work of charity.

To thoughtful readers it must be apparent that we have been treading on the very edge of deep and difficult subjects, and it is a very long step down to practical considerations. It must be borne in mind, however, that the importance of results is mainly dependent on the subject matter on which causes work. A wrangle between two small children for possession of a toy, and a destructive war, with all its carnage and misery, between two nations for possession of some disputed province, are different results from an identical cause. Philanthropy, in active exercise, means the doings of average men or women; therefore, in treating of the same, we have to deal with the essentially common place. And this is to some extent an advantage. Small subjects present fewer complications than great ones; therefore they are easier to handle, and the links in the chain of cause and effect are fewer.

Philanthropy in a concrete form at once takes the shape of an effort to check the spread of evil, either by preventing it from springing up, or by curing or mitigating existing evils, *e.g.* orphanages, industrial homes, as against reformatories, penitentiaries, and the like. In either case, to secure to such efforts their utmost measure of success, their motives must be pure—their methods thorough.

It is in dealing with the first of these requisites that we come face to face with the fact that that deadly poison of selfishness, which provides such ample material for philanthropy to work upon, itself works with fatal influence upon philanthropy. We confess we advance this theory in fear and trembling; dreading lest some insulted philanthropist 'gathering himself up, should come at us like a wild beast, seeking to devour us,' and that we, 'failing to catch his eye first, should be deprived of utterance.' 'But our error, if we are guilty of any error, is certainly unintentional, and therefore he in his wisdom should have pity on us,' and not be angry with us.' Beseeching then any modern Thrasymachus to instruct us if we be in error, and not to roar at us, we hazard the suggestion, that

certain forms of selfishness play a more important part in philanthropic action than the philanthropists themselves have probably any suspicion. Self deception is proverbially easy—more easy perhaps when the motives to which we assign our actions are in question, than in any other case. It is not to be supposed that our selfish caprices flaunt themselves ‘ingenuously and without fig leaves.’ They possess far too strong a sense of decorum, to say nothing of too much acuteness in adapting means to ends for any such crude exhibition of their undraped selves, either to ourselves or other people. We should rudely buffet these ugly nurslings of our neighbours, receiving, in return, much at their hands which we should perhaps be inclined to regard as unmerited martyrdom. But when their caprices pose in the becoming raiment of our rights, or our feelings, they not only put in a claim for more respectful treatment, but become evidences of very superior qualities inherent in us—a certain fine sturdy independence of character—or a sweet tenderness of disposition.

To illustrate the practical working of this evil we must descend to yet more trivial particulars. Philanthropy in its concrete form may be taken generally to mean some charitable institution or fund, with subscribers, patrons, a managing committee, and working officials. Will the memory of anyone who has had experience in such matters fail to recall to him instances in which the rights or feelings of some one have seriously interfered with the beneficial working of some such benevolent scheme? One man’s liberal contributions give him a right to have his wishes or opinions deferred to, merely because they are his wishes or opinions. Another man’s influential position gives him a claim to have the consideration of important business indefinitely postponed until he shall choose to find time to attend to it. The feelings of a third require that some branch of management, for which he is utterly unsuited, shall be left to him to make havoc of, because it is his pet occupation, and he would be ‘so pained’ if it were taken from him. In the case of an obstructive in the form of an enthusiastic member of a ladies’ committee, gifted with extremely sensitive feelings, and an unlimited liability to hysterics, has anyone ever attempted to measure the extent of the ruin she will be allowed to work before

anyone will be found courageous enough to interfere with her rights or feelings?

One common instance of the obstructive nature of rights and feelings is that of the frequent existence, in large towns, of several institutions of a similar character, the usefulness of which—with decreased proportionate expenditure—would be largely increased by amalgamation. How rarely can such an arrangement be effected! The moment it is proposed, even amidst the tumult of conflicting opinions, it becomes evident to the disinterested observer that *means* and *ends* are mingled in hopeless confusion. Ostensibly the benefits each institution is intended to confer are the ends, to be achieved by means of the active aid of philanthropy; practically, in the case of many supporters, self-gratification is the end, the work of the institution the means. Undoubtedly the gratification thus sought is of a sentiment commendable in itself; but when it is sought at the expense of the interests of others, it becomes at once apparent that self occupies far too prominent a place as a motive power. When the conflict over such a question becomes warm it is curious to notice how rapidly the ostensible proposition drops into the background, and rights and feelings come to the front. It is useless to urge that such advantages ought to be secured regardless of what we may perhaps venture to call disinterested selfishness. Those whose motives are pure will be the first to yield. They will rather sacrifice a part than risk the whole; and the purer motives leave the judgment clearer. They foresee that the irritation excited by worsted rights and feelings will find a vent in revenge, and that the triumph of good sense will only too probably mean a ruinous falling off of those voluntary contributions on which the institutions mainly depend.

The clearest proof we know of that this insidious poison of self does seriously mar the beneficent work of philanthropy lies in the existence of such an association as one we have already referred to—The Charity Voting Reform Association. A great and good man, now gone to his rest, who was as remarkable for manly vigour and sound good sense, as for fervent piety, and whose whole life had been devoted to missionary effort, was wont to bewail, to his personal friends, the worries and annoyances inflicted

upon him by the crotchets of 'old ladies male and female'—he might have called them aged and youthful. This class, no inconsiderable one, is the one which specially makes havoc of the work of philanthropy; could it be swept off the face of the earth the Charity Voting Reform Association would surely perish out of hand! The present system of universal canvassing for votes of subscribers to certain charitable institutions, a system which it is self evident is forced upon all, if it be allowed to any, carries its condemnation on its face. It necessitates, at least in the case of charities numbering their subscribers by thousands, no small expense, and thus places the best chances in the hands of those least destitute of either wealthy or influential friends. Yet this pernicious system has, as yet, defied all efforts to secure its abolition. Wherefore? Because the private ends of a certain percentage of supporters would be interfered with. One delights in the sense of importance—always a golden bait to small natures—conferred upon him by being besieged for his votes. Another carries on a regular trafficking in votes—not in the sense of making money—that evil, if it exists, is not within our present scope—and rejoices in the possession of a certain amount of patronage. A third, whose flunkeyism is ingrained, revels in the chance of occasionally thrusting himself upon the notice of people of high rank. Argue the point with any staunch supporter of the abuse, and you will find that, stripped of flimsy disguises, these or some other forms of selfishness are the root of all objections. Such philanthropy cannot be called pure as to motive.

Thus far we have sought to show that that most prolific source of evil results, 'self in the premiss,' is one of the principal flaws which mar the full value of philanthropic effort. No man ever yet produced good work, at least in the moral field, whose actual design was not absolutely identical with his professed one. Unfortunately the converse of the proposition cannot be affirmed with equal certainty. The most unalloyed singleness of purpose will not avail, unless the methods pursued be of the right sort; and that philanthropic methods are very frequently not of the right sort, because they are not thorough, is only too apparent. It may be that careful analyzing of this

defect also would ultimately lead us to the tap root of individualism, but for our present purpose it is sufficient to regard it as an intellectual, rather than a moral defect. A want of what we ordinarily term good business capacity is a very common failing of even well educated people, and not only so, but they very generally have a sort of instinctive dislike to anything being done in an orderly business-like manner. This is one frequent cause of failure in the carrying out of designs which in themselves are admirable. Many an ably conceived philanthropic scheme becomes for this reason little better than a melancholy failure in working. But the defect has farther reaching consequences than hap-hazard management—a fault more especially injurious to that branch of philanthropic effort which deals with the prevention of evil. In the attempt to cure or mitigate existing evils it leads to quackery—empirical rather than scientific modes of treatment, followed, no doubt, often by immediate, sometimes, brilliant results, whose duration is commensurate with the time occupied by the evil spirit in finding those seven other kindred spirits of whom he is in search. This sort of empirical treatment is sometimes general, but superficial; sometimes more thorough, as far as it goes, but occupied too much with only one part of the evil with which it deals.

So good an instance has lately been afforded of this empirical treatment that we will venture to step a little beyond the province of direct philanthropy in order to quote it as an illustration. The 'Zeit-Geist'—if we may be pardoned for bringing that high sounding term into connection with the follies of fashion—has within the last year or two exploded much upon the radical injuries inflicted upon health by tight-lacing, high-heeled boots, and other absurdities of a like nature. Lecturers have denounced these absurdities, and medical men have, in the public prints, given the weight of their authority in support of the asserted evil results. But who has asked the simple question 'Why?' If an evil is to be cured surely the first step is to ascertain its cause. Why do women, and men too for the matter of that, bow their necks beneath the yoke of fashion, at the cost of intolerable discomfort even of health itself? He who can solve that question will have done a good deal more than strike at the very root of a

fashionable folly; he will go far to teach commanders of armies how to avoid the risk of panics, and statesmen how to avert the dangers of popular tumults; for he will have traced to its origin the inherent tendency of human beings to do things merely because other people do them. If the case of those who carry any prevailing fashion to an unprecedented length is to be considered we stumble up against individualism again, and find one strongly marked characteristic of the human race over-ridden by another, the main spring of many a purposeless crime, or insensate folly—the desire to attract attention. The woman who laces to the very verge of suffocation, and totters along on heels half an inch higher than anyone else, is only a possible Guiteau in petticoats. Until the dress reformers find out some counteracting principle to these two deeply rooted tendencies they may rest assured that their labours, in so far as they are successful, are but clearing the ground for a fresh crop of follies.

To turn however to more important subjects than these absurdities of fashion, which can never seriously affect any save a very small fraction of the population, two very grave evils have of late been attracting well merited attention—intemperance, and overcrowding in large towns. With regard to the former how very superficial are the ordinary methods of treatment suggested. Preach total abstinence is the cry of one class of philanthropists, and forthwith Blue Ribbon armies spring up, and a deluge of sermons, lectures, tracts, is poured forth, and with what result? Mainly, we fear, that for one intemperate person affected in any way, a dozen unimpeachably temperate people give up their daily glass or two of wine or ale, by way of example. The renunciation of a harmless indulgence, which you have not the slightest inclination to abuse, as an example to any one afflicted with an irresistible craving for excess in that very indulgence, affords a clearer instance of benevolent intention than of logical reasoning.

The cry of another class of philanthropists—notably that class whose panacea for every evil is a law forbidding to everyone anything which they happen personally to disapprove—is for the closing of public houses, and throwing of increased difficulty in the way of obtaining alcoholic stimulant. There is a guileless innocence about these suggestions which would render them

touching were they not apt to be troublesome. Can any reasonable human being, who has ever had any experience of the really horrible ingenuity manifested by those on whom this deadly craving has seized, in procuring means for its indulgence, credit for a moment that any laws which a free country would tolerate for an hour would have any appreciable effect as a deterrent? That such measures, as well as temperance associations, the establishment of coffee taverns, &c., are calculated to do a certain amount of good we do not for one moment doubt; but viewed as remedies applied to existing intemperance they are empirical, they do not go to the root of the matter. Few and far between are the instances of habitual drunkards reclaimed, and as long as this is the case there will always be a considerable percentage of each succeeding generation born into the world with the fatal curse upon them of a strong inherited tendency to this form of self-indulgence.

This is one important point to which philanthropic crusaders against intemperance appear to give very little attention. Do they expect by attacking the subject from its moral side to make headway against a physical craving which a man will face every possible form of personal wretchedness and privation in order to gratify? Nor are there wanting other peculiar features which seem, in some measure, to distinguish alcoholic excess from other forms of self-indulgence. The well authenticated fact that it is essentially the vice of cold climates is one alone well worthy of thoughtful attention. Which is most given to luxurious self-indulgence, the hardy thrifty Scot, or the pleasure loving native of a hot climate? yet which is most prone to this special vice? Again, the craving for alcohol appears to be indulged rather in spite of, than for the sake of the results. The opium smoker, for instance, smokes for the express purpose of producing temporary sensations of so delightful a character that he will risk everything rather than forego their enjoyment. No man drinks for the sake of making his speech inarticulate, and everything seem to reel around his swimming head. He would hail as a benefactor the man who would tell him how to avoid these almost immediate effects of alcoholic excess. He drinks, in spite of, not for the sake of the consequences. Can men be held to

be wisely adapting means to ends, to be thorough in their methods, who leave such facts as these wholly, or in great part, out of account, in their crusade against this blighting curse?

The question of overcrowding in large towns carries us at once beyond the region of philanthropy pure and simple. It is hardly credible that this evil can be dealt with to any important extent without State interference, and that, we know, means little more than just so much good being done as accidentally accompanies the use of the subject as a party weapon. But in so far as philanthropy has endeavoured to grapple with the evil, as in the instance of the Peabody Bequest, a too one-sided view of the problem seems generally to prevail. The question men set before themselves seems to be—How are we to enable the working classes in large towns to live decently? This is certainly an important part of the problem, but it is only a part; and its solution will only leave them face to face with the more difficult part—How to make the working classes live decently in spite of themselves. The first part of the problem is that which the late Emperor Napoleon attempted to solve in Paris by free use of despotic power, and an expenditure of some £134,000,000, only to find himself baffled by the second part. The managers of the Peabody funds have, we believe, grappled successfully with this difficulty, as yet, by means of stringent rules and rigid supervision; but that is a principle impossible to apply universally, and until the question is solved for the working classes as a whole, money, time, and labour, will be expended in vain, as far as a radical cure of the evil goes.

Sentimental philanthropists will probably be inclined here to cry out that we are bringing a harsh accusation against the working classes—that they are made of the same flesh and blood as ourselves. It is just because they are, that the assertion will be verified. Is it very uncommon, among the middle and upper classes, to find men and women squandering their substance, neglecting their children, even injuring their health, in pursuit of frivolous amusement? The working man's nature is much the same. Are we therefore to expect anything else than that he will succumb to similar temptations, in the altered guise in which circumstances present them before him? Overcrowding

is an evil he will very readily submit to, if it represents to him money to be spent upon those pleasures and enjoyments for which he craves. So long, therefore, as pressure for space in large towns forces rents upwards, so long will the labouring classes, unless forcibly prevented, overcrowd themselves in order thereby to gain money to spend on what they prize far more than decent dwelling rooms. Were all supervision withdrawn from the Peabody Buildings does anyone doubt that, ere very long, the tenants of tenements of two or three rooms would, for the most part, be found crowded into one room, and making money by sub-letting? If by some magical process—not the scum of the population of our large towns—but the decent labouring class could be creditably housed 'to-morrow, within a few days the inevitable process would begin, almost imperceptibly at first. They would crowd themselves for the sake of gain, thus setting up a subtle process of moral and social degradation, and rendering a recurrence of the horrors at which we now stand aghast only a case of time. Owners of property may be forced to do their duty; careful supervision with respect to sub-letting, and other sanitary regulations, may work beneficially, but these are empirical means, a treatment of symptoms, not causes. Until some means can be found, either to check the tendency of rents to rise under pressure on space, or to elevate the working classes to a higher moral platform regarding duty as against pleasure than that to which the upper class have yet attained, so long will all vigilance be more or less successfully eluded, and overcrowding be a fruitful source of misery and degradation in our large towns.

That we have as before admitted, strayed from the region of philanthropy pure and simple is true, but more in appearance than in reality; for it may surely be claimed that statesmanship, when occupied upon such a subject, is, after all, only philanthropy working authoritatively, rather than persuasively; therefore the flaw of the one will be the flaw of the other. All that we have advanced is merely in support of a very simple proposition—that philanthropy, striving to make head against the mass of evil engendered by selfishness, largely wastes its resources, partly from that very poison of self mingling with its motives, partly because

its methods are more often empirical than scientific. Where is the remedy for these evils? For the first it is easy to prescribe—Live up to the Christianity you profess, and the cure is effected. The second is not so easily dealt with. As Cardinal Manning has admirably expressed it, the existence of evil is a mystery of the long suffering God over which men have always been impatient. Impatience is a constant source of empiricism; treatment must produce immediate results, or it is rejected as useless. We start back in horror from the havoc and misery worked by intemperance, and from the sight of the loathsome dens in which we find fellow creatures doomed to spend a wretched existence, and grasp at the first weapon which comes to hand, wherewith we can combat the momentary phase of the evil, rejoicing in any measure we may secure of a success whose ephemeral nature we do not perceive. Moral discipline is the rarest of all discipline, and only the morally disciplined can be got to work patiently and steadily on the lines indicated by careful scientific investigation, and wait for results. In dealing with these two great cankers in our national life, were such a system pursued, it might appear for long as though little or nothing were being done, and then at length it would be found that a whole generation had been lifted into a purer, clearer, moral atmosphere.

Of this at least we may feel sure. Until religion, science and statesmanship work together in harmonious union, as parts of that one great whole which a gifted modern writer has happily described as 'the enthusiasm of humanity,' so long will prejudices, empirical methods, class interests, mixed motives, be the cause of lavish waste of money, time and effort, and of the oft recurring bitter experience, that the mowing down of one rank crop of evils but clears the ground for the vigorous growth of a new, and often more injurious crop.

ART. V.—THE EDDIC POEMS.

Corpus Poeticum Boreale: The Poetry of the Old Northern Tongue from the Earliest Times to the Thirteenth Century. Edited, Classified, and Translated, with Introduction, Excursus, and Notes. By GUDBRAND VIGFUSSON, M.A., and F. YORK POWELL, M.A. 2 Vols. Oxford, 1883.

THE literature which has survived in the Old Northern tongue, affords a remarkably promising field of inquiry not only to the historian and philologist, but also to the student of religion, sociology, and human nature. Among the old literatures of Europe there is probably none more deeply embedded in the thought and language of the present, and, with perhaps a single exception, so intimately connected with the antiquities, history, and literature of our native land. In its Sagas, too, it possesses a species of literature which is peculiarly its own. As Mr. Vigfusson has remarked, 'Ballads are in other countries and were at other times, but the Icelandic Saga is a unique plant'; and were it that only one could be preserved, the Eddic Songs or the Sagas, not a few would in all probability join him in unhesitatingly praying for the preservation of the latter.

On the Continent, the study of this old literature may be said to date as far back as the second half of the sixteenth century. About 1550 a MS. vellum of the *Kings' Lives* was found at Bergen: a Norwegian undertook its translation, and in 1594 the translation was published at Copenhagen. Out of this may be said to have sprung the Northern Renaissance. The interest taken in the old Icelandic literature on the Continent spread to Iceland, and Arngrim, Biorn of Scardsa, Magnus Olafsson, and Bishop Bryniolf, and others, were soon at work collecting and studying the old MSS. which had long lain neglected, and which, but for the timely discovery of the Bergen MS., would in all probability have soon mouldered out of existence. The first Saga, that of Hrolf Gautreksson, was printed at Upsala in 1664, and the *editio princeps* of Edda at Copenhagen in the following year. Since

then the study of the Icelandic Songs and Sagas has been carried on on the Continent by an unbroken band of scholars, among whom are the great names of Rask, Rafn, Petersen, the Brothers Grimm; Munch, Grundvig, Unger, Bergmann, and Bugge, the result of whose labours is, it need hardly be said, an extensive literature of a most interesting and valuable kind.

In our own country the study is of more recent origin. Down almost to the end of the first fifty years of the present century, very little could be learned in English respecting Iceland or its literature, except from Bishop Percy's translation of Mallet, Dr. Wheaton's *Northmen*, Messrs. Weber & Jamieson's *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, and one or two articles or lectures by Carlyle. Since then the subject has been dealt with in numerous essays; several of the best Sagas have been translated; others have been edited; our poets have gone to the Eddic Poems for subjects or for inspiration, and our historians, dealing with the periods to which they refer, have made ample use of the Sagas. But among the works which have contributed most to further the study of the language as well as of the literature of Iceland, are those which have proceeded in whole or part from the hands of the editor and translator of the volumes before us. The Icelandic Grammar, Dictionary, and Prose Reader put into the hands of the student the means of obtaining a thorough mastery of the language, while the Prolegomena to the excellent edition of the *Sturlunga Saga* have provided him with a succinct and admirable account of the literature.

Their present work, however, seems to form what may not unfitly be called their *opus magnum*. And a very noble monument of their friendship and learning it is. From the Introduction we gather that it has been in hand over twenty years; and after carefully perusing it, our surprise is, considering the other work which the Editors have had in hand, that so much has been accomplished and done so well in so comparatively short a time. The difficulties to be surmounted were innumerable; and every page bears witness to the most unwearied industry and the most scrupulous desire to be exact and full. In order to give our readers some idea of the labour which the work represents, we may say that every scrap of known vellum has been examined;

all the Sagas have been searched ; the poems, some of which were mixed up and interwoven with each other, have been disentangled, translated, annotated, sometimes at considerable length, and arranged for the first time in chronological order. Further, an introduction has been prepared for almost every poem or fragment ; an elaborate introduction has been written for the whole work ; and dissertations containing a vast amount of rare and interesting information which throws a clear and often unexpected light upon the thought and life of the ancient inhabitants of Iceland, Scandinavia, and the Western Isles, have been added. Nor are learning and fulness the only merits of these volumes. Readers who open them with the expectation of finding merely a collection of poems with an elaborate apparatus *criticus*, and essays on technical subjects of interest only to scholars, will meet, we can assure them, with a very agreeable surprise. The work has much more than a merely learned interest. Few persons of average education can open it without finding much to instruct and entertain them ; while those who take an interest in Icelandic studies, or in tracing the literatures of modern Europe to their sources, or are desirous of studying the ideas which underlie them, as near as possible to their fountain-head, will derive pleasure and instruction from every page.

Our purpose in the present paper, however, is not criticism. The time for that has scarcely arrived. What we propose to ourselves is the much humbler and, as we trust our readers will think, the much more grateful task of introducing them to the work and giving them some knowledge of its valuable contents.

Of the two volumes into which the work is divided, the first contains the Eddic Poetry, and to this we propose for the present to confine ourselves.

Eddic Poetry, it must always be remembered, is not book-poetry. The poems were composed, recited, and handed down from generation to generation long before they were committed to writing. Compared with the hymns of the Rig-Veda and other of the oldest poems, they may be called recent. The notion that 'they are "monuments of hoar antiquity" such as Tacitus might have heard,' Mr. Vigfusson condemns as quite untenable. They are closely connected with the old Teutonic

myths and legends, and had undoubtedly a long foreground, in some cases reaching back into a very remote antiquity; in all probability, too, they were in several instances the combined work of successive generations of Scandinavian thinkers; but in their present shape, as Mr. Vigfusson has in our opinion conclusively shown, the date of their origin cannot be put earlier than A.D. 800, and not later than A.D. 1100. One curious point about them is that, though written in Icelandic, and in all probability taken down from the lips of the reciters in Iceland, very few, and certainly not the oldest or best of them, were composed in that island or by those who were natives of it. Not that Iceland produced no poets; for, though the Saga was its genuine and native product, it was from Iceland that not a few of the Court poets came. But the position which the island seems to have held towards them was that of a centre or emporium into which they were gathered, the natives during the period of their greatest literary activity busying themselves in collecting and recording not only their own noble Sagas, but whatever they could hear of the Eddic Songs. The way in which this was probably done has been graphically pictured by Mr. Vigfusson in his Introduction, and though the passage is somewhat long, yet, as it is suggestive also of some of the difficulties he and his colleague have had to contend with in editing the work before us, we shall here transcribe it:—

‘One gathers from a careful consideration of the MS.* that the collection must have been put together somewhat as follows:—The Collector, interested by hearing one or two of these old poems, which were entirely new to him, but of which he knew the plot in a vague way, got the reciter to dictate to him all he knew. The reciter’s memory fails him in the less impressive parts of the poems, and he *substitutes a plain, rough, clumsy bit of prose*, giving the thread of the plot, to fill up the gap. We notice that the more broken the song is the more bits there are of prose. In a few instances—for instance, the *Helgi Lays*, the *Hamtheow Lay*, *Havamal*, the *Wolsung Play*, &c.—all is a jumble: in one place we have obviously a double text, A, B; in another an old fragmentary song has been interlarded with bits of a younger one. We may picture the Collector, having written

* The Codex Regius (R), the chief of all the Icelandic MSS., now in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, and originally presented to the King of Denmark by Bishop Bryniolf in 1662.

down all the reciter could give him, trying another man, who knows some more ; he recites his little collection to him, and this second informant is able to give him a few fresh verses ; but more often he says, " You haven't got it quite right here ; I always heard it so," giving him what is really a parallel text of bits he has already ; or else he says, " I remember some lines you haven't got about that matter," and cites fragments of a fresh poem on the same subject. The good Collector puts down all his new friend tells him in rough chronological order alongside of what he has already got, according to the thread of the tale, so that, *e.g.*, in the old Wolsung Play we get in R two separate poems of different style and age mixed together.

' We may here even fancy how the Collector came to take down the poems now in R. It was in the Saga-time, and even till lately, the fashion for traders on Iceland to sail about midsummer or early autumn and put up there through the winter, to avoid the terrible equinoctial gales, boarding with the franklins of the district, and going away in the spring next year. Suppose a Western Islander, skipper of a trading vessel, lodging (as we know many an Orkneyman did) with an Icelandic franklin or priest through the winter. At Christmas-time, Saga-telling and reading is a favourite pastime, the guest is well entertained, and in his turn is asked to tell a story ; he recites one of the poems he has heard at entertainments in his own land, where poetry, and not Saga-telling, is the popular pastime. His host is pleased with the poem, and begs him next day to dictate all the verses he knows to him. Or if any one prefers it, he may imagine an Iceland, such as Ingimund the priest or Hrafn Sveinbiornsson, passing a winter in the Orkneys or Shetlands, and then writing down the poems he had heard recited at festal gatherings.'

It will thus be easily understood that the work on which the Editors embarked when they took in hand to edit their *Corpus Poeticum* was no slight undertaking, but one, if we may so say, beset with shoals and quicksands, and requiring a vast amount of painstaking energy and critical sagacity.

It is time, however, that we turned to the poems themselves. The oldest surviving belong, mostly if not entirely, to the pre-Wicking days, and some of them, it may be, to a very distant past. They divide themselves into two classes, the ethical or instructive, and the mythological. The mythological contain the earliest known forms of some of the old Teutonic myths and traditions. The ethical have hitherto been known as part of the Hávamál Collection, which, as it stands in the MS., is, as the Editors remark in the passage we have just cited, ' all jumble.' The stanzas have been here picked out and re-arranged, and the title ' Há-

varmál, or The High One's Lesson,' applied only to the last of a series of poems into which the MS. 'jumble' has been reconstructed. As the first of these we have 'The Guest's Wisdom,' a poem which has the merit of preserving a singularly clear and graphic picture of the Northmen of the old days. In form it is the talk of a traveller with his host, and consists of a series of wise saws and maxims. The topics touched upon are such as the Guest, the Wise, the Fool, Trouble, Friendship, and various points of behaviour and conduct. Shrewdness, common sense, and considerable keenness of observation are the most noticeable characteristics of the sayings. The ethics, as the Editors remark, are heathen, with no touch of Christianity. A few extracts from various parts of the poem will show its character.

'Hail, mine host ! a guest is come, where shall he sit ? Hot haste is his that has to try his luck standing at the gate-post. The new-comer with his cold knees needs a fire. A man that has travelled over the hills needs meat and clothing. He that comes to a meal needs water, a towel, a welcome, good fellowship, and a hearing and kind answer if he could get it. . . . A guest that mocks his fellow guest is pleased when he drives the other away. But he that gabbles over a meal little knows that his baying will bring his foes upon him. . . . Let the cup go round, yet drink thy share of the mead ; speak fair or not at all. No one can blame thee for ill-breeding though thou go early to sleep. . . . No one can carry better baggage on his way than wisdom ; no worse wallet can he carry on his way than ale-bibbing. . . . One's own home is the best, though it be but a cottage. A man is a man in his own house. . . . His heart bleeds who must beg for a meal. . . . An unwelcome guest always misses the feast. . . . Man is man's comfort. . . . Only one's own mind knows what lies in one's heart : a man is his own confidant. . . . Go on, be not a guest ever in the same house. . . . 'Welcome becomes wearisome if he sit too long at another's table. . . . There is no better friend than common sense.'

In 'The Song of Saws' and 'The Lesson of Loddafni,' we have poems of a similar nature, though evidently of a later date. In the second of these the impersonal form is dropped and an unknown mentor, perhaps father, advises Loddafni, giving him counsel on topics similar to those dealt with in 'The Guest's Wisdom.'

The three little poems printed next are the first we meet with here which have about them the peculiar Norse character. These also have been extracted from the Hávamál Collection, and ap-

pear to be fragments of a longer poem treating of the adventures of Woden. The first relates how Woden sought the love of the sun-white Billing's daughter, and is exceedingly vivid and picturesque. The second is a Soma-myth, and tells how Woden beguiled Suptung the Soma giant and his daughter Gundfled, and at the risk of his life obtained from her hand a drink of the Holy Mead. The last of the three tells how he lost his wits at the Dwarf's house, because they were stolen away by the heron of forgetfulness that hovers over banquets. In the fine old ritual of the lay of the *Hávamál* we have another Soma-myth, in which the speaker, who, as the Editors conjecture, is probably Woden, tells the following story:—

'I mind me hanging on the gallows-tree nine whole nights, wounded with a spear, offered to Woden, myself to myself; on the tree, whose roots no man knoweth. They gave me no loaf; they held no horn to me. I peered down, I caught the mysteries up with a cry, then I fell back [descended]. I learnt nine songs of might from Balethorn's son, Bestla's father, and I got the draught of the precious mead, blent with Odreari [inspiration]. Then I became fruitful and wise, and waxed great and flourished; word followed fast on word with me, and work followed fast on work with me.'

The lay to which this belongs, being itself for the most part of a purely ritual or liturgic character, might have thrown much light on the old Teutonic ritual, had it come down to us in a more complete shape, but unfortunately it is in a most fragmentary condition. The conclusion of it is an old priestly chant, weird and ghostly, but full of sonorous and mysterious music.

'Now the Lay of the High One has been chanted in the Hall of the High One, most profitable to the children of men, most unprofitable to the sons of the Giants. Hail to him that spoke it! Hail to him that knows it! Joy to him that learnt it! Hail to them that have listened to it!'

Of the mythological or traditional poems belonging to this period we have the Old Play of the Wolsungs, the Old Lay of Atli, and the Hamdis-mal or Old Lay of Hamtheow. The first is the earliest known version of the story of the Wolsungs, and, as the Editors suggest, was probably written down when the older poetry was fast fading out of men's memories and giving place to a new school of poetry. In form it is dramatic; but much of

the dialogue is didactic, Andwari, Nikar, Fafni, and Sigdrifa, the principal characters in the drama, assuming in turn the part of teachers and instructing their hearers. The Curse of the Hoard, which appears in so many of the old legends, is here the red thread which runs through the play and links the deeds of the divine Anses to the exploits of the Niflung heroes. As described by the Editors the plot is as follows:—

‘Rodmar had three sons, Fafni the Serpent, Regin the Dwarf-Smith, and Otter. The Anses had the ill luck to slay Otter. The injured father compels them to pay him as *weregild* enough gold to cover his son’s skin (hung up by the tail so that the nose touches the ground, as in the Welsh Laws). Loki borrows Ran’s net, catches the dwarf Andwari in a pike’s shape, and gets a great treasure from him. But one hair is still bare, though the heaped gold hides the rest. Loki therefore robs the poor dwarf of his only remaining ring, with which he had hoped to retrieve his losses in time, for it was a magic ring which bred gold. Enraged at this merciless treatment, Andwari laid a curse upon all who should own the ring till it had been eight men’s bane. Loki now pays Rodmar, and the curse begins to work. Fafni kills his father and takes the hoard off to Glistenheath, cheating his weaker brother of his share of the heritage. The Giant-Snake, as we gather from vv. 17sq. of our lay, could only be slain by one who was “unborn,” and Sigfred, Regin’s foster son, the Macduff of our tale, is employed forthwith to kill Fafni. The talking pies warn Sigfred that Regin, now master of the cursed hoard, means to murder him, and so defraud him of the reward he had promised him. Sigfred therefore kills Regin and rides home with the gold. Sigfred’s meeting with Sigdrifa is told. But the part telling of his fate and the end of the Curse has been lost.’

A final act, though certainly not the original one, is given to this old play in the vigorous poem which here follows it, the Old Lay of Atli, sometimes, but erroneously called the ‘Greenland Lay of Atli,’ one of the oldest of the Teutonic epics, and, as the Editors point out, markedly original in vocabulary. The opening of the poem gives a vivid picture of the old times:

‘In the olden days Atli sent one of his trusty warriors, whose name was Knefred, to Gunnar. He came to the courts of Giuki, to the hall of Gunnar, with its hearth-encompassing benches, and to the sweet ale. The henchmen were drinking wine in the great Hall, the strangers kept silence, for they feared the wrath of the Hniflungs; till Knefred the Southern messenger cried with an evil voice from where he sat on the high bench:—

“Atli hath sent me hither on the bridled steed through the wild Mirk-

wood to ride his errand, to bid you, Gunnar, come to the hearth-encompassing benches. . . . to visit Atli. . . .”

The bait held out is great treasure, the wide Gnite-heath, the dwellings of Danp and the famous forest of Mirkwood. Gunnar and Hogni, the Niflung heroes, upon whom the Curse of the Hoard now rests, after consulting together, resolve, contrary to the advice of their friends and in spite also of the warning conveyed to them by their sister Gudrun, Atilla's wife, to set out.

‘The blameless warriors wept as they led the warlike kings out of the courts of the Hniflungs [to bid them farewell]. Then spake Hogni's young heir: “Fare hale and hearty wherever your hearts list to go.”

‘The gallant kings made their bridled steeds gallop apace over the mountains and through the wild Mirkwood. All Hunmark shook where the strong heroes passed, they rode their chargers through the . . . green mantled fields.’

Arrived where Atli is drinking wine, they are met by Gudrun, who again warns them of their danger, but too late. Gunnar and Hogni are seized by the Huns, and fast bound. The next scene is one of horror. Hogni's heart is cut out while he is still living and carried on a charger to Gunnar. Gudrun then tries to dissuade Atli from putting her brother to death and so breaking the oath he had sworn to him; but in vain. Atli, true to his fiendlike character, carries out his horrible intention, and Gunnar goes down into the pit wattled with snakes tuning his harp in derision. ‘The band of warriors put the king alive into the pit that was crawling with serpents. But Gunnar, alone there, in his wrath smote the harp with his hands; the strings ran out. So should a valiant hero keep his gold from his foes.’ Atli and his men return to their own land, and then comes the terrible revenge of his wife, Gunnar and Hogni's sister. She meets him on the threshold, and, offering him a gilt chalice, says—

‘Take, Lord, in thine hall from Gudrun. . . .

‘Heavy with wine Atli's ale-beakers rang when the Huns gathered in the hall, when the long bearded heroes assembled together.

‘The bright-faced [Gudrun], that fierce lady, hastened to bear the wine to the lords, and in her cruelty to share out the dainty morsels to the pale-faced princes, but to Atli she spake a word of mockery. “Thou has eaten the fresh-bleeding hearts of thy sons, mixed with honey, thou giver of swords. Now thou shalt digest the gory flesh of man, thou stern king,

having eaten of it as a dainty morsel, 'and sent it as a mess to thy friends. Never more shalt thou, merry with ale, call thy two sons Erp and Eitil to thy knees from thy high seat. Thou shalt never see in the midst of thy court the young princes shafting their spears, clipping their horses' manes, or spurring their steeds."

'Then arose a hum on the benches, a horrible murmur from the men, uproar among them that were in fine raiment, the children of the Huns weeping aloud—save Gudrun only, she never wept for her bear-hearted brothers or her sweet sons, the young innocents that she bore to Atli.

'The swan-white queen strewed gold abroad, and bribed the household with red rings,—making doom to wax high,—and poured out the bright hoards; she grudged not the treasures. . . .

'Merry was Atli, he had drunk himself mad, weapon he had none, he was not wary against Gudrun. It had been often a sweeter play between them when they embraced each other before the princes.

'With the point of the sword she gave the bed blood to drink with her murderous hand, and loosed the hounds. She cast the hot brand against the door of the hall. . . . This is the wergild she got for her brothers. To the flame she gave all that were in the hall, that had come from Mirkwood, from the murder of Gunnar. The old timbers fell down; the treasure-houses smoked; the king's houses and the amazons within them sunk life-lorn into the burning fire.'

The vigour and graphic touch of this poem are unmistakable. The wild passion and fierce vindictiveness it exhibits are remarkable. Anything more vividly or powerfully drawn it will be difficult to find either in Shakespeare or Dante.

The bright-faced vengeful Gudrun appears again in the *Hamdis-mal*, one of the finest of the earliest poems. Originally, as the Editors have cleverly conjectured, this poem consisted of three parts. The first, describing the murder of Swanhild, is lost, all that remains being the Egging of Gudrun and the Fight in Ermanarik's Hall; and parts of these are gone. Gudrun has lost none of her fierceness, and shows no signs of the patient gentleness with which she is invested by later poets and in the *Lay of the Hegelins*. The plot of the poem deals with the feud between the Huns and the Goths. Swanhild, the daughter of Gudrun by her first husband Sigfred, has been married to Ermanarik, the king of the Goths, who, acting on the treacherous advice of Bikki, has her trodden under the feet of horses in the gate of his palace. Gudrun eggs on her sons Hamtheow and Sorli to avenge their sister, and, armed by their mother with

wonderful magic coats of mail upon which no sword will bite, they set out, slaying on their way their bastard brother, whose offer of help they despise. Arrived at the Goths' hall, where Ermanarik, surrounded by his warriors, is mad with wine, they make a furious onslaught and slay right and left. Ermanarik, weltering in his blood, with his hands and feet cut off, at last shouts out in rage—

“Shall not ten hundred Goths bind and beat down two lone men in the high hall !”

‘There was an uproar in the hall ; the ale-cups were shivered ; men lay in the blood that had flowed from the breasts of the Goths. Then spake Hamtheow, the stout of heart : “Thou didst wish, Ermanarik, for the coming of us thy brethren to thy stronghold. Now, Ermanarik, look at thy feet, look at thine hands cast into the burning fire.”

‘Then the god-sprung king roared mightily, as a bear roars, out of his harness : “Stone ye these fellows, these sons of Ionakr, that spears will not bite nor sword edge nor arrows.”

Ermanarik's men obey him, and the sons of Ionakr, whom neither arrow nor sword will touch, are stoned to death. ‘Sorli fell at the gable of the hall, and Hamtheow sank down at back of the house.’ The story, of which we have here the earliest poetical version, seems to have been extremely popular in the North. Such expressions as ‘Hamtheow's sark’ for a coat of mail, and ‘the killer of the sons of Ionakr’ for a stone, are found, as the editors point out, even in very early poets. The final scene was painted on Bragi's shield, and was known to the Beowulf poet, who refers also to a cup and ring and necklace which Hamtheow had taken from the treasure. It is interesting to compare the story we have here of Ermanarik's death with that which is given by the historians. Of the magic armour, Ammianus and Jordanis know nothing. The account given by the former is plain and straightforward. In Jordanis the mythical element is at work. In his reference to ‘the faithless Rosmon-folk,’ he seems to be even quoting from a lost Ermanarik's Lay. But the difference between the Lay and history is immense, quite sufficient to justify Carlyle's exclamation, ‘What an enormous camera-obscura magnifier is Tradition !’

Imbedded in the original text of the Lay is the fragment of

a song entitled Gudrun's Chain of Woe, which evidently belongs to a later period. We give part of it here, that our readers may see how completely her character was afterwards transformed. In the song she is no longer the fierce and haughty heroine of the *Atli* and *Hamtheow Lays*, but sweet and gentle, heart-broken and full of woe. The Editors, we should mention, place the song in their fifth book:—

'Gudrun, Giuki's daughter, sat weeping in the court; she [began sorrowfully to number her woes], and with tearful cheeks to tell over her sorrows in manifold ways.

"I have known three fires, three hearths; I have been carried to the houses of three husbands. The first was Sigurd, the best of them all, whom my brothers did to death. I neither saw nor knew. . . . I thought it a still harder trouble when they gave me to *Atli*. [I called my brave little sons apart to talk with me. I could find no recompense for my wrongs till I cut off the heads of the *Hniflungs*.]

"I went down to the strand; angry with the Fates I was, [I wished to defy their hateful curse]; but the high waves bore me up without drowning me. I reached the land, for I was fated to live.

"I went for the third time to the bed of a mighty king, hoping for better fate, and I bore children, sons . . . to *Ionakr*. But the bondmaids sat round *Swanhild*, whom I loved best of my children; she was like a glorious sunbeam in my bower. I endowed her with gold and goodly raiment before I married her into *Gothland*. That was the hardest of all my sorrows, when they trod *Swanhild's* fair hair in the dust under the hoofs of the horses: but the sorest when they slew my *Sigurd*, robbed of his victories, in my bed: and the cruellest when the fierce snakes pierced *Gunnar* to the heart; and the sharpest when they cut *Hogni* the hero to the heart while he was yet alive. I can remember many woes. Harness, *Sigurd*, thy white steed; let thy fleet horse gallop hither, for here sits neither daughter-in-law, nor daughter, to give gifts to me. Remember, *Sigurd*, what we promised one another when we both went into the bed of wed-lock, that thou wouldst come from *Hell* to seek me, but that I would come to thee from earth.'

The poems which the editors have placed in their second and three following books are of especial interest. Among them are the finest productions of the Northern Muse; and, with certain exceptions, their place of origin was the West. Their western origin has it is true been denied. External evidence, either for or against it, does not exist, but a careful examination of the poems themselves—their vocabulary, their geographical indica-

tions, both physical and historical, and the social conditions they describe—has enabled the Editors to argue conclusively that they were composed neither in Iceland nor in Norway, and that the only locality to which their origin can be reasonably assigned is the West. The section of the Introduction in which this point is dealt with is both extremely interesting and of great importance. All we can here do is to cite a couple of paragraphs in which the Editors sum up their arguments. After showing that the kind of life to which the poems bear witness is different from that of Iceland as indicated in the Sagas, both in detail and in general tone and spirit, and from that also which must have existed at the time of their composition in Norway or Scandinavia, they go on to ask—

‘Where, then, shall we find a place to which the conditions of life depicted in the poems shall apply—a temperate country, with Kelts in or near it, with a certain amount of civilization and refinement, and foreign trade, with Christian influences, with woods and deer and forest trees, with a fine coast and islands, where there were fortified places, where there was plenty of rich embroidered tapestry, where hunting, hawking, bird-clubbing went on as common pastimes, where slavery was widely prevalent (the slaves being often of a different racial type to their masters), where harping and carping went on in the hall to the merry clink of cup and can kept filled with beer and wine, where there was plenty of “Welsh” cloth, “Welsh” gold and “Welsh” steel, where the Scandinavian led a roving life, fighting and sailing, and riding and feasting by turns? Where but in the Western Isles?’

‘Again, where could those curious mythologic fancies, which created Walhall, and made of Woden a heavenly Charlemagne, which dreamed like Caedmon, of the Rood as a tree that spread through the worlds, which pictured the final Doom as near, and nursed visions of an ever-lasting peace, holier even than Cynewulf’s Phoenix figures,—where could such ideas as these, alien as they are to the old Teutonic religion and ritual and thought, have been better fostered than in the British Isles, at a time when the Irish Church, with her fervent faith, her weird and wild imaginings, and curious half-Eastern legends, was impressing the poetic mind on one side, while the rich and splendid court of Eadgar or Canute would stimulate it on the other?’

That the authors were Scandinavians of the heroic age the Editors do not doubt, and several circumstances, such as their choice of subjects, the occurrence of certain curious phrases, their knowledge of the Huns, &c., incline them to the opinion that

they belonged to the Southern Scandinavian emigration, and were 'not so near to the North and West Norwegian Colonists whom Harold did his best to drive from the Western Islands, as they were to the men who won Waterford and Limerick and kinged it in York and East England.' Two remarks of the Editors in this connection are of importance,—viz.: that 'among the first poets we really have any personal knowledge of, the majority are of mixed blood, with an Irish ancestress not far back in the family tree, and that their physical characteristics, dark hair and black eyes, like Sigwhat and Cormac, their reckless passion and wonderful fluency are also un-Teutonic and speak to their alien descent.'

Taking the poems in the order in which they are here arranged, we have first of all a number of didactic mythological poems, each having its own framework and evidently intended to stand alone, and to be used as a sort of mythological primer. In the first, 'The Lessons of Giant Wafthrudni,' which may be taken as an example of the rest of its kind, Woden, after taking counsel with his wife, and, contrary to her advice, goes to giant-land to visit Wafthrudni. On presenting himself, Wafthrudni vows that he shall never leave the hall alive unless he prove himself the wiser of the two. A trial of wits ensues, and, Wafthrudni failing to answer a question which Woden puts to him, forfeits his head. The questions are all of a mythological character, and prove that at the time these poems were written the old Norse mythology was fully developed. Next we have all that is left of the work of a single great poet, whom the Editors somewhat happily call 'a Norse Aristophanes of the Western Islands. Here also the subjects treated are mythological. The author was evidently a heathen, 'a man who is at home in his religion, who treats Thor and Woden, as many a good mediæval churchman did the Abbot or the Pope, with a humour which has in it no hate or abhorrence, but rather sympathy. . . This nameless Aristophanes is a high poet too, with a beautiful restraint, an antique grace in his metre and phrasing, and vigorous homely pith that belonged to the Ethic school.' Perhaps the most characteristic of his works is 'The Flying of Loki'—a poem full of the most biting sarcasm and abounding in allusions to the

scandals of Ansegard, some of which are otherwise unknown. The treatment is purely dramatic, and the plot extremely simple. Loki appears an unwelcome guest at a banquet at which all the gods and goddesses are present with the exception of Thor, and at once begins to banter them, attacking each in turn and silencing them. He himself is only silenced and compelled to withdraw by the arrival and threats of Thor, the only one of the gods for whom he seems to have the slightest respect. As a sample of his flyting, we may take his colloquy with Byggvi (Barleycorn).

'B. Be sure, if I had a heritage like Frey the Ingowin and such a seemly seat, I would pound thee to marrow, thou ill-omened crow, and maul thine every limb.—L. What is the tiny thing I see wagging its tail, snuffling about (doglike)? Thou wilt be always at Frey's hearth, yapping at the quern.—B. My name is Barleycorn; Gods and men know that I am hot-tempered; I am here in high spirits because all Hropt's sons (Anses) are here drinking together.—L. Hold thy peace, Barleycorn; thou hast never shared food fairly among men. Hid in the bedstraw, thou wast not to be found when men were a-fighting.'

Hoarbeard's Lay, another poem by the same author is in a slightly different vein. Hoarbeard's description of Thor—'It looks little like thy having three estates; there thou art, bare-legged in a beggar's gabardine; not even thy breeches on'—seems to bespeak an author who was acquainted with the breechless Scotch and Irish. Whether the 'Rothsay Sound' to which he refers a few lines further on is in the Clyde, may be an open question. At all events it has what the Editors call 'a familiar look and sound' about it.

Very different from the author of 'Loki's Flyting' is the Helgi poet. More serious, more impassioned, his poetry possesses a more stately and higher character. His Trilogy is in every way one of the finest poems in the whole range of northern poetry, and deserves all the praise which the Editors here bestow upon it. It is distinguished by an epic grandeur, an artistic power, a wealth of imagination and diction not met with in any of the earlier or, with perhaps a single exception, in any of the later poets. Many passages are exceedingly impressive, and everywhere there are the signs of profound feeling and genuine

power. What for instance can be more impressive than the splendid opening of the first part ?

'It was in the olden days, the eagles were screaming, the holy streams were flowing from the Hills of Heaven, when Helgi the stout of heart was born at Borghild, in Braeholt. Night lay over the house when the Fates came to forecast the hero's life. They said that he should be called the most famous of kings and the best among princes. With power they twisted the strands of fate for Borghild's son in Braeholt, they spread the woof of gold and made it fast under the midst of the moon's hall. In the east and in the west they hid the thrums, all the land between was to be his. Neri's sister fastened one strand in the sides of the North, and prayed that it might hold for ever.

'There was one thing only that threatened the son of the Wolfings and the lady that bore the darling. . . .

'Quoth a raven to a raven, as he sat on a lofty branch, famished for food, "Somewhat of tidings I know. The son of Sigmund, one night old, stands in his armour—now the day is a-dawning—his eyes flashing like a hero's ; friend of the wolves is he. Let us be of good cheer !'

The following description of the sailing of the fleet is admirable :

'The host awoke, they could see the brow of dawn ; the king bade furl the bow-awnings, and they hoisted the woven canvass to the yards in Warinsfirth. Then there arose a plashing of oars and a rattle of iron, shield clashed against shield as the Wickings rowed. With a foaming wake the king's fleet of warriors stood out far from the land. When Kolga's sister [the billow] and the long keels dashed together, it was to the ear as if surf and cliffs were breaking against each other. Helgi bade them hoist the topsails higher. The fast following seas kept tryst upon the hulls, whilst Eager's dreadful daughter strove to whelm the bows of the steer-steeds. But battle-bold Sigrun, from on high, save' them and their craft off Cliffholt. The king's brine-steed was wrested by main strength from Ran's hand, and that night the fair-found fleet rode safe once more in Unisvœe.'

Other fine poems bearing the marks of the same authorship are the 'Lay of Atli and Rimegerd,' the 'Western Wolsung Lay,' and the 'Waking of Angantheow.' The last is especially deserving of notice for its weird like grandeur and its deep, impassioned pathos. Angantheow, one of the sons of Arngrim, the archetypes of the famous Bearsarks, after giving Hialmar his death-wound, has been slain by him, and along with his eleven brothers and his famous sword Tyrfin [Ripper], which Swafrlami stole from the Dwarves, and which in consequence bears with it the fatal power of

bringing death to its possessor, has been buried in Samsey. Herwor, his posthumous daughter and only child, has been brought up by a bondmaid, in ignorance of his name and kin; but learning the truth the war spirit comes upon her too, and arming herself as an Amazon, she goes forth to seek her rightful heritage, the deadly sword owned by her father. The poem opens with her landing in the gloaming at Munarvoe in Samsey. A shepherd whom she meets driving home his flock, and of whom she enquires for 'the howes called Hioward's howes,' advises her to turn back as 'out of doors all is awesome to look upon;' but heedless of his warning, and though 'the fires are flitting and the grave mounds are opening, and field and fen are all ablaze,' she presses on to where she sees the flames blazing round the howes, and calls upon the spirits of Angantheow and his brethren:—

'Awake, O Angantheow! It is Herwor, the only daughter of Tofa and thee, that bids thee awaken! Give me out of the howe the sharp blade which the Dwarves forged for Swafurlami. O Herward, O Hiorward, O Rani, O Angantheow! I bid you all awaken *where ye lie* under the roots of the trees, with helm and with mail-coat, with sharp sword, with shield, and with harness and with reddened spear! (*No answer*). Surely ye are turned to heaps of dust, ye sons of Arngrim, since no one of the children of Eyfora will speak with me here in Munarvoe. O Herward, O Hiorward, O Rani, O Angantheow? May it be with all of you within your ribs, as if ye were nested in an ant-hill, unless ye give me the sword that Dwale forged. It ill beseems ghosts to keep costly weapons in hiding.'

Her father's ghost answers her from the flaming howe. His anxiety to protect her from the curse following the ownership of the sword, and the maiden's dauntless calm and resolution are finely brought out. The deadly weapon being given to her, Herwor holds herself happier in having it than if she were the conqueror of all Norway; and the poem closes with the last words of Angantheow:—

'Thou shalt use it and enjoy it long, but keep it aye sheathed, this slayer of Hialmar; touch not the edges, there is poison on both of them; this Doomer of men is worse than a plague. Farewell, my daughter, fain would I give thee, if thou wilt believe me, the life of us twelve men, all the goodly strength and pith that the sons of Arngrim lost when they died.'

As already noticed most of the poems have undergone at the

hands of the Editors a process of reconstruction. Stanzas have been eliminated, some have been borrowed from one poem and added to another, and others have been separated and made to stand apart as fragments of totally different poems. The Editors have gone boldly to work, and though their drastic treatment has shorn many of the old Eddic songs of their familiar look, the results are in many instances exceedingly brilliant. In no poem, however, has this process been carried out so thoroughly as in the famous *Volo-spa* or *Sibyl's Prophecy*, justly called 'the highest spiritual effort of the heathen poetry of the North.' In the first volume is given a text based on the *Codex Regius*, the *Hauks-bók*, and *Snorri's Edda*; but in the second volume it is cancelled, and we have an entirely new one constructed from the prose paraphrase of the poem in *Snorri's Edda*, which in the opinion of the Editors rests upon a version of the poem, finer, fuller, and earlier than any other preserved. In fact, the *Prose Edda*, the authorship of which is ascribed not to *Snorri*, but to an unknown paraphrast belonging to an older generation, is regarded not as a mere paraphrase, but as containing actual citations from a purer version of the *Prophecy*. These the Editor has picked out, arranged, and, when necessary, supplemented as far as possible from the orthodox texts, and here set down as his new text. The process is somewhat risky, but there can be no doubt that the result is a much finer version of this noblest of the Northern heathen poems. As now presented to us it may be considered as a kind of trilogy, the utterances of three Sibyls rather than of one. The first is an aged giantess who sets forth in order to the gods and men gathered at her feet the history of the past giving an account of chaos, creation, the golden age, the first crime, the world-tree, the *Norns*, &c. Of the world-tree she says:—

'I know an holy Ash called *Ygg's steed*, a lofty tree sprinkled with white
ooze :

From it come the dews that fall on the dales,
Ever green it stands over the Brook of *Weird*.

Three Wise Maidens [the *Fates*] came forth from the hall that stands
beneath the trunk of that tree, writing upon tableta.

The name of the one is *Weird*, the other is *Becoming*, Should is the
third :

They lay down law, they forecast life, they decree fate for the sons of man,

But *other* three mighty beings, midwives sprung from that race [Norns] come to the house (*whenever a child is born*).'

The second Sibyl is of a darker character and is acquainted with enchantments and witchcraft. 'She was ever the joy of the wicked woman,' and, questioned by Woden, tells the sad tale of judgment to come.

'It shall be hard with the world, there shall be great whoredom,
An age of axes, an age of swords, shields shall be cloven,
An age of tempest, an age of felons [wolves], ere the world falls in ruin.
The sun shall grow black,
The earth shall sink into the sea,
The bright stars shall vanish from the heavens,
Leviathan writhes in great fury,
The Snake's brother [Wolf Fenri] . . . and breaks his fetters. . .
. . . the [Hell] ship Nail-fare is loosened,
The granite rocks shall crash together,
And all gyves are unloosened.
All men shall tread the path of Death,
And the heavens be rent.'

Her story, however, is not wholly of terror. She predicts the slaying of Loki and the Wolf Fenri and the reward of the righteous in the heavens of Warmth, Light, and Cheer.

'I know a hall, fairer than the sun, thatched with gold, that stands on
Fire-lea :
There is another, standing in Okoln, the glittering ale-hall that is called
Brim :
Upon the North, on the hills of the moon, there stands a golden-built
hall called Glede [Glowing-ember] :
There [in these three halls] shall the righteous nations dwell and rejoice
in bliss for evermore.'

The prophecy of the third Sibyl, the Sibyl of the world to come, we give as it stands:—

'I can see Earth rise a second time, fresh and green out of the sea,
The waters are falling, the erne hovering over them, the bird that hunts
the fish in [the streams of] the mountain.
The fields unsown shall yield their fruit,
All ills shall be healed at the coming of Balder,
Hoth and Balder shall re-people the blessed habitations of Hroft [Woden
the sage] ; the Holy Place of the High Gods.
Then Hoene shall choose the rods of divination [again],

And the sons of the two Brothers [Hoth and Balder] shall inhabit the
 wide world of the winds [of heaven].
 The Anses shall meet on the field of Ith,
 And do judgments under the mighty Tree of the World,
 And call to mind the dooms of might and the ancient mysteries of the
 great God :
 And after that the wonderful golden tables, which they had owned in
 days of yore, shall be found in the grass.'

For many reasons it is greatly to be regretted that no complete text of this truly magnificent poem is now procurable. The fragments of it which still remain are quite sufficient, however, to justify the high esteem in which it has always been held; and few who read the text here given of it, or Mr. Powell's excellent translation, will be disposed to differ from Mr. Vigfusson when he says—'It is a poem which stands quite alone among the creations of the Northern poets; it is spiritual, immaterial, philosophic, even mystical in its inspiration; perhaps nearer in cast and form of thought to one of Plato's dialogues than to any other extant composition. . . Its poet, whoever he was, is the "sweet singer" of the Northern tongue.'

The poems we have hitherto spoken of are undoubtedly of heathen origin, though the Volos-pa bears evident traces of the influence of Christianity, to which may probably be ascribed some of its grandest imagery, and its highly mystical character. Traces of the same influence may also be seen in the short Sibyl's Lay, especially in the concluding lines:—

'Then there shall come One yet mightier;
 Though I dare not name him,
 There be but few who can see farther forward than the day when Woden
 shall met the Wolf.'

In all probability the two Lays, though the shorter one is clearly the elder, were written when the old religion was beginning to decay. On the other hand, in the two poems which the Editors print next to their first text of the Volo-spa, we have a couple of poems written after the old Norse religion had been supplanted by Christianity. The author is a Christian but evidently well acquainted with the old mythology. Of the two poems, the 'Sun-Song' and 'The Christian's Wisdom,' the first is

unquestionably the finer. It is the instruction which a dead father gives to his son in a vision of the night, and is divided into four parts. In the first of these the father tells how he lay in the throes of death, and then after nine days in the Norn's Chair, passed into the world of Hell. In the second he describes the ten kinds of torments he saw there for different kinds of sins. The third part recounts six of the joys of heaven, and is probably imperfect. The conclusion is a beautiful prayer, and the father's last word to his son. We take the following from the first, which is the finest, part of the poem :—

‘Bowed down I sat, drooping a long while ; great was my desire to live, but He, the Stronger, had His will. “The doomed men's race is run.” The cords of Hell were hard-girt round my sides. I tried to break them, but they were strong. “Lightly he walks whose limbs are free.” None but myself knew how the pains got hold of me on every side. The Maids [messengers] of Hell called me home to them every evening.

‘I saw the Sun, right Star of Day, sink in a World of Storm, while on the other side I heard the gates of Hell clang heavily.

‘I saw the Sun go down with characters of blood thereon, well-nigh gone was I out of this world ; more glorious did he then appear than ever he had done before. . . .

‘I saw the Sun never more after that dreary day, for the mountain waters closed over my head, and I departed being called out of my torment.

‘The Star of Hope flew up from my breast (sore afraid was I then). High she soared, nor once alighted that she might take her rest. Longer than the rest was that one night when I lay stark on straw ; then was fulfilled the word of God, “Man is but as dust.” Consider and take heed, O great God, that made earth and heaven, how woe-begone many fare. . . . Every man reaps the fruit of his own works ; blessed is he that doeth good. . . .

‘Nine days I sat in the seat of the Norns, whence I was lifted on a horse ; mock suns shone grim out of the windows of a cloud-charged heaven. Within and without, through all the Seven blessed Heavens, methought I passed ; high and low I sought a path, wherein my way might lie straight.’

Here we must stop, and leave the works of the Ballad Poet, the early Historic Poems, and the epics of the Brunhild, Gudrun and Atli Poets untouched. Throughout we have used in our quotations the translation given by Mr. Powell, which is not only a clear reflection of the text, but, as our readers will have seen, often eloquent. We are not sure, however, that we have always given his final reading, as the volumes are burdened with a

whole army of corrigenda which in a new edition, it is to be hoped, will be inserted in their proper places. The excursus on the 'Beliefs and Worship of the Ancient Northmen,' given at the end of the first volume, deserves special mention, as do also the numerous extracts and translations from the Sagas.

ART. VI.—THE LIFE OF ST. MARGARET.

The Life of St. Margaret, Queen of Scotland. By TURGOT, Bishop of St. Andrews.* Translated from the Latin by WM. FORBES-LEITH, S.J. Edinburgh, 1884.

IT has long been matter for regret that so little should be known of the life of our great Saint and Queen, and that the only authentic record of her virtues should exist in a form unavailable to the general reader. We therefore rejoice to see 'St. Margaret's Life' written by her confessor, the learned and pious Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, in the admirable translation which heads this article. This little work is not only interesting from the simple and beautiful description of the Saint's daily life by one who witnessed it, and instructive from the light it throws on the state of Scotland and the Church towards the latter part of the eleventh century; it is also one of the first really authentic histories we possess, and as such has been often referred to by later historians.

Turgot appears to have been a Saxon of good birth, who, during the troubles in England, was offered as a hostage to William the Conqueror, by whom he was imprisoned in the castle of Lincoln, from whence he escaped and fled to Norway. In his exile he was employed to instruct the holy king and martyr Olave in sacred literature. The example shown by his royal pupil greatly influenced Turgot, so that he also strove to withdraw his heart

* As regards the question of the authorship of the 'Life,' we refer our readers to F. Forbes-Leith's Preface. We have followed his decision in ascribing it to Turgot.

more and more from the world. Having on his return to his native land lost all his worldly goods and been in great danger of losing his life, he realised still more deeply the nothingness of this world. Having resolved to devote his life to God in the cloister, he asked for admittance into the monastery of Durham, where his great piety and learning led to his being eventually chosen as Prior. After Margaret Atheling had become Queen of Scotland, she prayed him to be her confessor, and he remained her constant guide and adviser until close upon the end of her life. After the Queen's death Turgot continued to devote himself to the service of her family, remaining with Matilda of Scotland after her marriage with Henry I. It is to this Princess, the worthy inheritor of her mother's virtues, that we owe the *Life* in which Turgot committed to writing his recollections of the Saint. He prefaces his narrative by a letter to Matilda, in which, after saluting her with wishes for her welfare, spiritual and temporal, he thus continues:—

'You have by the request you made to me commanded me, for a request of yours is to me a command, to offer you in writing the story of the life of your mother, whose memory is held in veneration. How acceptable that life was to God you have often heard by the concordant praise of many. You remind me how in this matter my evidence is especially trustworthy, since (thanks to her great and familiar intercourse with me) you have understood that I am acquainted with the most part of her secrets. These your commands and wishes I willingly obey: nay, more, I venerate them exceedingly and I respectfully congratulate you—whom the King of the Angels has raised to the rank of Queen of England—on this, that you desire not only to hear about the life of your mother, who ever yearned after the Kingdom of the Angels, but further to have it continually before your eyes in writing in order that, although you were but little familiar with her face, you might at least have a perfect acquaintance with her virtues. For my part, my own wish inclines me to do what you bid, but I have, I do own, a lack of ability: as the materials forsooth for this undertaking are more than my writing or my words can avail to set forth.'

He concludes, by again stating the difficulty he finds in doing justice to the greatness of his subject, and, assuring Matilda that far from exaggerating the Saint's virtues, he omits many things, fearing that they might be thought incredible, and he himself accused of 'decking out the crow in the Swan's Plumage.'

Margaret, this precious pearl, as Turgot styles her, came of a

kingly race, and many of her ancestors were famous as wise and valiant rulers of their people as well as for holiness of life. Grand-daughter of Edward Ironside, she was the eldest of the three children of Edward Atheling, surnamed Outre-Mer, from the fact that the chief part of his life was passed in exile in a foreign land. In his infancy Edward had been sent by the usurper Canute to Volgar, who governed part of Sweden, in order that he might be made away with; but Volgar, more merciful, determined to save the child's life, and sent him secretly to the Court of the King of Hungary, who received him with great kindness and charity, and had him brought up as if he had been one of his own children. When Edward had attained to manhood he so distinguished himself as to obtain the hand of the Princess Agatha, who, it is conjectured, was the niece of the Emperor Henry II. of Germany. Of this marriage was born a son, Edgar, and two daughters, Margaret and Christina, Margaret's birth probably took place in the year 1046 at Alba the Royal, the chief residence of the kings of Hungary.

For nine years our Saint had lived in the foreign Court, which yet was a very home to her, when her father, being recalled to England by his uncle, St. Edward the Confessor, returned to his native country accompanied by his wife and children. At the Court of Edward this noble family were received with all honour and affection, and the years that followed must have been peaceful and happy. Margaret, early instructed in piety and knowledge, thus grew up in the unworldly court of her uncle, whose influence, united with that of his Queen Editha, must have greatly strengthened the pious teaching of her own parents; and we may conclude that it was there that she learned by such noble examples how to show love and reverence to God's poor in their wants both of soul and body. From her infancy Margaret had shown that she was no common child; endowed as she was with many mental gifts, clearness of intellect, and great facility in expressing her thoughts in elegant language, her studies presented few difficulties to her, and she became one of the most accomplished Princesses of her time. But her chief wish and aim was to serve God as perfectly as she was able; and so, even in her earliest years, 'loving God above all things,' as her

biographer tells us, she spent much time in prayer and the study of Holy Scripture, and, in the midst of a Court, led a very strict life. In all this she was preparing herself unconsciously for the high duties which awaited her.

And now, leaving the Saint for awhile, it may be well to learn what we may of the character of the King of Scotland, her future husband. Malcolm, eldest son of Duncan, spent his childhood in retirement and obscurity, concealed by faithful friends from the vengeance of the usurper, and the murderer of his father, Macbeth. As he grew up, however, he was received at the Court of St. Edward the Confessor, who showed a paternal interest in his welfare; and it was no doubt owing to his care that Malcolm became proficient in those knightly exercises which enabled him in after life to distinguish himself as a valiant warrior as well as a wise and able monarch. It is probable that it was during these years that Malcolm first saw his future bride, and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that he had thus already become attracted by her many graces of mind and person, before the time came when he could beg her to share his throne.

Some years had gone by since Malcolm had been restored to his father's throne, and England had passed through stormy days, when the successes of William the Conqueror forced Edgar Atheling, the last Saxon Prince of the royal line, to leave the country with his mother and sisters. Taking ship, they, together with many of their followers, intended passing to Hungary, to which country many grateful ties still bound them; but Providence had other views for the royal fugitives. Meeting with adverse weather, and being unable to proceed further on their voyage, they were forced to take refuge on the shores of Scotland, where the place of their landing still bears the name of St. Margaret's Hope.

As soon as Malcolm received news of the arrival and destitute condition of his royal friends, he hastened to assure them of his sympathy and bid them welcome to his kingdom, entertaining them most honourably at his Palace of Dunfermline.

We learn that the King soon became most desirous of making the Princess Margaret his wife; but at first he met with strong opposition to his suit, not only from Edgar and his nobles, but

also from Margaret herself, who wished to consecrate her life to God in the cloister. However, it would appear that Edgar did not dare eventually to refuse his friend and benefactor's wishes, for, being so urged, the Saxon chronicler says, 'he answered yea and durst not otherwise, for they were come into his power.' And no doubt Margaret submitted herself humbly to her brother's decision, perceiving that it was the will of God that she should serve Him in the married state.

The exact date of the marriage is uncertain, but it seems most probably to have taken place in 1068-69. The ceremony was performed at Dunfermline, where the Queen afterwards founded the stately Church of the Holy Trinity to commemorate the event; it was to be in after years the last resting place of herself, her husband, and many of their descendants.

Margaret, being now raised to the greatest earthly dignity, was not on that account moved to alter her former desires of serving God in every way possible, and set herself, to this end, to perform those duties most suited to her new state. She desired to find a wise and prudent adviser to aid her in ruling her daily life, and in Turgot she found one who worthily performed this office, as we know, for many years. The Queen's first care was to perform her duties as a loving wife and helpmate to the King, her husband, and it is beautiful to see how she used her gentle influence for his good and that of his people, to whom she was ever a very mother. She persuaded the King to be more attentive to the care of his soul; and, although his early life had not been blameless, he became from this time more earnest in prayer and good works, especially those of mercy, justice, and alms-deeds, and showed such sorrow for his sins, that Turgot says it was a marvel to see such repentance in one living in the world. The description of Malcolm's devotion to his Queen is so charming and simple that we must give it in the words of her biographer:—

'There was in him [the King] a sort of dread of offending one whose life was so venerable, for he could not but perceive from her conduct that Christ dwelt within her; nay more, he readily obeyed her wishes and prudent counsels, in all things. Whatever she refused, he refused also; whatever pleased her, he also loved for the love of her. Hence it was, that although he could not read, he would turn over and examine books which

she used either for her devotions or her study, and, whenever he heard her say that she was fonder of one of them than the others, this one he too used to look at with special affection, kissing it, and often taking it into his hands. Sometimes he sent for a worker in precious metals, whom he commanded to ornament that volume with gold and gems, and when the work was finished the King himself used to carry the volume to the Queen as a kind proof of his devotion.'

The Queen, being thus encouraged and aided by the support of her husband, soon effected great changes at court, and so regulated the conduct of those who surrounded herself and the King that the Palace offered the brightest example to all the nation.

By her sweet and gentle manner and mild reproof, she acquired such influence that all, 'Men as well as women, loved her while they feared her, and in fearing, loved her; and in her presence no one dared say or do ought that was wrong.' Skilled in the use of the needle and embroidery of all kinds, the Queen devoted some of her time to adorning vestments for the churches, and Turgot tells us that in her chamber were always to be seen such tokens of her industry. The charge of these works was confided to ladies of high birth and approved conduct.

Nor was Margaret neglectful of the outward customs and ceremonies of royal pomp so necessary to the maintenance of the kingly dignity. She it was who so arranged that a nobler class of persons should attend the king whenever he went abroad, and this was carried out with so much order that none were ever suffered to injure or take anything belonging to the poor people of the country. The Queen also encouraged the nobles of the court to dress in a manner more suitable to their rank, causing merchants from other countries to introduce materials for this purpose, such as had been hitherto unknown in Scotland. Anxious that the royal table should be served with becoming splendour, she also introduced the use of dishes and cups of precious metals. But, although the Queen made these changes from the sense of what was right and suitable for her royal husband's Court, she herself was not uplifted, but remained humble in heart, despising the things of this world and, as her biographer tells us, even while she appeared in regal state, 'She, like another Esther, in her heart trod all these trappings under foot, and bade herself remember that beneath the gems of gold

there was but dust and ashes.' She meditated constantly on the shortness of life and on the judgments of God, and used to urge her Confessor to spare no pains to point out to her, her faults; and, as he did this less often than she wished, she would reproach him for what she termed his slackness in this respect, urging him to reprove her and to use no flattery in her regard.

Malcolm and his Queen were blessed with eight children, and the Saint so trained them that they were the worthy children of such parents. They were instructed in all virtue from their earliest years, and no pains were spared in their education; and, desiring that they should not be unduly indulged, the Queen charged the governor of the royal nursery to see that they were punished when they were naughty, 'which,' as remarks Turgot, 'frolicsome childhood will often be.' Owing to their mother's care, the royal children were loving and peaceable with each other, and in good behaviour surpassed many who were their seniors in years, and everywhere the younger paid due respect to the elder. The Saint often spoke to her children of the things of God in a manner suitable to their age, and urged them to love Him, saying, 'Oh, my children, fear the Lord, for they who fear Him shall lack nothing, and if you love Him, he will give you, my darlings, prosperity in this life and everlasting happiness.' This was her dearest wish for her children, and she ceased not to pray that their lives might be acceptable to God and that they might be worthy to attain to eternal blessedness.

Not content with doing her duty to her own family, the Queen showed herself a true mother to her subjects. Persuaded that one of the surest ways of testifying love of God is shown by tender charity to His poor, she spent herself in their service. She desired that the poor should ever have access to her, and when she went abroad they were encouraged freely to approach her. There is still shown a stone on the road to Dunfermline which bears her name, and which tradition points out as being one of the spots where she used to sit and receive all who needed her compassionate assistance. The news of the great charity shown by their Queen was soon noised abroad in the whole kingdom, and crowds of distressed persons hastened to the royal palace, where they were treated with the greatest kindness.

Like another saintly princess, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, it was the Queen's joy, for the love of God, to attend in person to the wants of the sick and suffering, and in these deeds of mercy the King cheerfully joined. In Lent the royal pair redoubled their acts of charity, and Turgot tells us how each morning they washed the feet of six poor persons, and daily fed three hundred in one of the halls of the palace waiting on them themselves. The Queen daily supported twenty-four poor people throughout the year, and spent her substance in relieving the wants of all who came near her, so that she was herself as poor as her own poor subjects, not having even the desire to possess aught. When her own means failed she was wont playfully to take money from the King's purse, which he as pleasantly permitted, sometimes pretending when he caught her in the act, that he would have her arrested for these pious thefts. The Queen had the greatest sympathy for captives, and all those who were exiles from their native land, and it is impossible to say how many she restored to liberty; for this purpose she employed trustworthy persons to discover the most miserable among the prisoners and slaves, and having done so, hastened to ransom them. Doubtless her mother's heart yearned in a special manner to poor and helpless children, for we learn that she often had little orphans brought to her own chamber, where she would feed them herself.

The many duties of her state and these acts of charity in no way interfered with the Saint's devotion to prayer and meditation. In the midst of so much external occupation her heart was full of the thought of God, and she spent her spare time in prayer, not only by day, but by night, rising to devote hours to praise and adore her Lord in the church, and in this she was often accompanied by the King. Devoted to the study of Holy Scripture, she used earnestly to urge Turgot to procure for her copies of the sacred volumes; no less for her own benefit than for the comfort and instruction of those around her. Turgot relates a pretty story of what befell one of her books, for which she had a special affection. It was a copy of the Gospels beautifully bound and enriched with gold and precious stones. During one of the Queen's journeys, the attendant who was carrying this book let it fall into a stream, and, not knowing what had happened, pro-

ceeded on his way. When the loss was discovered, diligent search was made, and the book was found lying in the bed of the river, whence it was taken up 'so perfect, so uninjured, so free from damage, that it looked as if it had not been touched by the water.' When it was restored to the Queen she returned thanks to God, and valued the book more even than before.'

Margaret, whose tender heart was moved with such charity for the bodily wants of her people, had a still greater desire for their spiritual good. Being pained at perceiving certain grave abuses in her new country, such as the neglect of the Sunday, the practice of unlawful marriages, and divers other points in which the Church in Scotland did not conform to the universal Church, she so wrought with the King, that he, agreeing willingly to all her desires, and understanding the necessity of reform, held councils of the chief ecclesiastics and nobles of the realm for the purpose of discussing these grave questions. The Queen was present on these occasions, and full of zeal for the greater glory of God, stated what she observed; the King acting as her interpreter, having himself an equal knowledge both of the English and Scotch tongues.

The chief subjects discussed were those connected with the observance of the Lenten Fast, the Liturgy, and the non-observance of the commandment of the Church that all should receive Holy Communion at Easter. As regards the Fast of Lent, it appears to have been the custom at that time to begin the Fast from the first Monday of Lent instead of the previous Wednesday, thus reducing the time to thirty-six days instead of forty. This custom, apparently tolerated in the early ages of the Church, was abrogated towards the close, at least, of the sixth century; and the full period of forty days was generally observed in the Western Church. St. Margaret, then, showed that, as they agreed in faith, so they should unite also in discipline with the Holy See. As regards the question of Easter Communion, on this subject our Saint persuasively pointed out how sad and deplorable a thing it was to refrain from approaching the altar at the season appointed by the Church. To the argument advanced that sinners were unworthy of such a grace, and that they feared to offend God, and, in the words of the Apostle, dreaded to eat and drink judgment to themselves, she showed how this did not apply

to those who rightly prepared themselves by prayer, penance, and confession. Her words so touched her hearers that from that time they failed not to communicate devoutly at the holy season. It is difficult to say in what the 'barbarous rite,' alluded to by Saint Margaret's biographer, and which she strove to alter, consisted. The expression does not appear to apply, as some have thought, to the use of the vulgar tongue in the celebration of Mass. If it is the ancient Ephesian liturgy which is referred to, and which was in use in some parts of Scotland, it seems probable that the Keledei or Culdees were alone permitted to retain it after St. Margaret's efforts had caused the Church of Scotland generally to follow the Roman rite.

The endeavours of the Queen to promote the holiness and progress of the Church in Scotland in these and in all other matters were greatly blessed; so that Baronius says of her, 'that having found the Church of Scotland like a wild desert, she left it at her death in so flourishing a state that it resembled a well-cultivated beautiful garden.'

Having now briefly considered the life and exalted virtues of the Queen, we approach the end of her holy career; and, as suffering in this life is ever the portion of those chosen souls who strive most nearly to imitate their Divine Model, so we find that Margaret's last days on earth were overshadowed with trials and afflictions. Sorrowful days for Scotland were at hand, and Turgot says that the Queen had a foreknowledge of the evils to come, and of her own death. Some months before the end, she summoned Turgot to her, and related to him the history of her whole life, shedding as she did so floods of tears. Her compunction was so wonderful, and the tenderness of her conscience so manifest, that Turgot says he felt unworthy of being admitted to so intimate a friendship with one so holy; he thus concludes his account of this his last interview with the Saint—

'When she had ended what she had to say about matters which were pressing, she then addressed herself to me, saying: "I now bid you farewell. I shall not continue much longer in this world, but you will live after me for a considerable time. There are two things which I beg of you. One is, that as long as you survive you will remember me in your prayers; the other is, that you will take some care about my sons and daughters.

Lavish your affection upon them ; teach them before all things to love and fear God ; never cease instructing them. When you see any one of them exalted to the height of an earthly dignity, then, as at once his father and his master in the truest sense, go to him, warn him lest through means of a passing honour he become puffed up with pride, or offend God by avarice, or through prosperity in this world neglect the blessedness of the life which is eternal. These are the things," said she, "which I ask you—as in the sight of God Who now is present along with us two—to promise me that you will carefully perform." At these words I once more burst into tears and promised her that I would carefully perform her wishes ; for I did not dare to oppose one whom I heard thus unhesitatingly predict what was to come to pass. And the truth of her prediction is verified by present facts ; since I survive her death, and I see her offspring elevated to dignity and honour. Thus, having ended the conference, and being about to return home, I bade the Queen my last farewell ; for after that day I never saw her face in the flesh.'

This parting with her valued friend and adviser must have been a trial to the Queen, but a far sadder one was before her. Malcolm had now reigned for thirty-five years, and the country had been prosperous under his wise and beneficent rule ; and as the even course of a peaceful reign leaves little scope for the historian, so we find but few facts of the domestic history of this period, save that the King gradually incorporated the different provinces, of which the kingdom had hitherto been composed, into one monarchy, and at his death left Scotland in possession of the same southern frontier ever after retained. With regard to Malcolm's dealings with England, it would be foreign to our purpose to enter into the details of the various causes which led him to invade that country on five different occasions. The English chronicler speaks with bitterness of the savage way in which the Scottish King and his troops 'devastated the Border country, and of the many captives carried back to Scotland. We have seen how Malcolm's gentle Queen endeavoured to mitigate their hard lot. The immediate cause which led to Malcolm's final and fatal breach with England appears to have been a refusal on the part of William Rufus to fulfil the conditions of a treaty with the Scottish King, and the insult offered to the latter by requiring him to do homage as vassal to the English crown. In consequence of this affront, Malcolm once more prepared to invade the English border, and although the Queen, as if fore-

seeing the fatal issue of events, strove to dissuade him from accompanying the troops in person, he on this occasion remained deaf to her entreaties, and they parted to meet no more in this world.

Margaret had been for some months in failing health, and indeed was seldom able to leave her bed. The account of her last days was preserved and given to Turgot by a priest who remained with her to the end, and to whom for his simplicity and holiness of life the Queen was much attached. He relates that one day some time after this painful separation from her husband, and three days before her own death, the Queen became sadder than usual, and turning to him, uttered these words: 'Perhaps on this very day such a heavy calamity may befall the realm of Scotland as has not been for many ages past.' Words only too surely realised, for on that day Malcolm and his son and apparent heir Edward were slain. Although accounts differ as to the place and manner of the Scottish King's death, all agree that there was treachery on the part of the English. The Scottish army perished partly by the sword and partly by the inundations of the rivers, swollen by the heavy rains of winter, and as none of his faithful followers were left to do honour to their lord's remains, Malcolm's body was placed in a cart by the English, and buried at Tynemouth. Meanwhile the holy Queen was drawing near her end; united as they had been in life, so were they in death; but three days were to elapse from the day of Malcolm's death before his Queen should follow him. He was slain on November the thirteenth; and on the sixteenth, Margaret's weakness having slightly decreased, she was enabled to rise and assist at Mass in her oratory, strengthening herself for her passage by receiving Holy Communion. Then returning to her bed, her former pains attacked her with renewed force. The disease increased, and death was at hand. The Queen desired that the chaplains should remain near her reciting psalms; and, sending for the Black Cross, for which, as it contained a portion of the True Cross, she had a special devotion, she, despite her excessive weakness, attempted to kiss it, and signing herself with it, continued stedfast in prayer. A short time had elapsed, and the Queen had

apparently become unconscious, when her second son, Prince Edgar, entered the room, the bearer of heavy tidings. Coming to announce the news of the death of his father and brother, what must have been his grief to find his beloved mother on her death-bed! Rousing herself at her son's entrance, the Queen enquired for the King and Prince Edward. Edgar loath to tell her the truth, and fearing to hasten her death, answered that they were well, but she, replying, said with a deep sigh, 'I know it, my boy, I know it. By this Holy Cross, I adjure you to tell me the truth.' Thus urged, Edgar related all, and concealed nothing from her, and, Margaret making her last great sacrifice, accepted the trial in all patience and resignation. Raising her eyes to heaven, she exclaimed, 'I give praise and thanks to Thee, Almighty God, for that Thou hast been pleased that I should endure such deep sorrow at my departing, and I trust that by means of this suffering it is Thy pleasure that I should be cleansed from some of the stains of my sins!' Then as death visibly approached, Margaret began to recite one of the prayers used by the priest during mass: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Who according to the will of the Father, through the co-operation of the Holy Ghost, hast by Thy death given life to the world, deliver me.' As she repeated these words 'deliver me,' her soul passed to the judgment seat of her God, whom she had striven to love and serve above all things. After her death a great beauty was observed upon her countenance, all traces of suffering having passed away, and she appeared rather as one who calmly slept than as a dead person.

The Chronicle of Mailros, one of the most authentic records we possess, states that the Queen's blessed death took place in Edinburgh Castle. From thence her body was removed to the church erected by her at Dunfermline, and interred, as she had herself desired, opposite the altar. Later, the bodies of Malcolm and their son Edward were brought from Tynemouth and placed beside her.

Turgot's memoir ends here, and while we regret that he should not have entered more fully into many details which would have been of great interest, yet we have, in his vivid and truthful pages, as charming and edifying a picture of the life of a great

and holy Queen as perhaps exists anywhere ; and no doubt this little volume will be read with interest as revealing the inner life of one with whose name we are so familiar ; a name graven as it were on the history of our country, and even yet borne by many of the spots connected with her memory.

It may be interesting, before concluding, to cast a glance upon the history of Margaret's children, and to see how her teaching bore fruit in their lives. Five of her sons survived her, but Ethelred died shortly, and Edmund, the only one who appears to have been—and this for a short time only—unworthy of his family, died a penitent in an English cloister. The other three, Edgar, Alexander, and David, succeeded each other on their father's throne. Of the two princesses, their sisters, Matilda, the eldest, became the Queen of Henry the First of England, thus uniting the royal Saxon line to that of the Norman dynasty. Her sister Mary was married to Eustace Count of Boulogne. Of her little is known, save that she was 'a princess of singular piety towards God, and charity towards her neighbour.' Her only child, Matilda, became the wife of King Stephen of England.

Of Matilda (Queen of Henry First) much more is known, and those who study her life, cannot fail to be struck with the resemblance she bears to her mother, especially in those practical acts of mercy to the poor for which she was famous. A story is told which well illustrates this. One day her brother David, whilst visiting the English Court, saw his sister employed in washing the feet of poor lepers, and kissing them, he asked her how the King, her husband, could bear to touch her lips after she had put them to such usage, to which she replied with a smile, 'that she preferred the Feet of the Eternal King, to the lips of any mortal Prince.'

It would not be within the scope of the present article to enter fully into the history of the reigns of Margaret's sons, rather let us, following the same course in which we have endeavoured to treat of their mother's life, state briefly the special personal characteristics of each. Of Edgar who, after some years, succeeded his father on the throne, Aelred tells us that he greatly resembled his kinsman, Edward the Confessor ; his nature was

sweet and amiable, and, incapable of harshness or tyranny towards his subjects, he ruled them with the utmost gentleness. Of Alexander, who succeeded his brother on the throne, Aelred gives a different account. Although kind and humble to the clergy, 'he was to the rest of his subjects beyond everything terrible, a man of large heart, exerting himself in all things beyond his strength,' a man of learning, zealous in erecting churches, enriching them with the relics of saints, and in supplying them with sacred books; generous to strangers, and so full of love to the poor, that he seemed to like nothing so much as feeding and clothing them, and attending to their wants in person. Alexander, dying like Edgar, childless, the youngest brother, David, ascended the throne. He was in all respects the most distinguished of the royal brothers, and perhaps the one who bore most resemblance to his mother. Like her, he showed a special love to his poor and suffering subjects, and on certain days he, like the kings of old, 'sat at the gate' giving audience to the poor and aged, and would defer a hunting expedition without a murmur to attend to some poor suppliant. In compliance with the policy pursued by Malcolm and Margaret, he encouraged foreign merchants to frequent the Scottish ports, at the same time preserving to native traders the advantages possessed by them during Malcolm's reign. Many noble buildings owed their foundation to David's pious zeal, among them notably Melrose, Jedburgh, and Kelso. We may gather that he had a special love for the beautiful Abbey of Holyrood, erected by him to enshrine the 'Black Rood,' for which his mother had so great a veneration, and on his death-bed his last wish was to be carried to pray before this representation of his crucified Saviour.

While her descendants continued worthily to fill their parents' throne, the love felt for the memory of their holy mother, by her adopted country, had grown in strength and reverence; and all felt that in losing her visible presence, they had gained an advocate in heaven. Miracles were wrought at her tomb, and throughout Britain she was considered to be a Saint. In the year 1250, during the reign of the Saint's great grandson, Alexander, the public recognition of her sanctity was formally sanctioned by Pope Innocent IV. Her body was removed from the grave, where it had

hitherto lain, in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Dunfermline, and enclosed in a silver shrine richly adorned with jewels, which was placed under the high altar in the same church. The young King, together with his mother, Queen Jane, and many Bishops and Nobles, was present at this ceremony, which was performed with great solemnity and splendour.

The Feast of St. Margaret was originally kept upon November the 16th, the day of her death, but in the seventeenth century it was transferred to the 10th of June, at the request of James II., probably from the fact of that day being the birthday of his son, the Prince of Wales. At the same time, our Saint was declared Patroness of Scotland, together with St. Andrew. Her shrine continued to be the object of the greatest veneration until the time of the Reformation, when it was plundered and desecrated; the relics were, however, preserved. The head was brought at Queen Mary's desire to Edinburgh Castle where she then was, probably when, exposed to many dangers, she took refuge there to await the birth of her son. After Mary's flight to England the Saint's head was removed to the house of the Laird of Drury, where it was for some years preserved by a Benedictine Monk. Confided by him to the missionary Jesuits, it was by one of them, John Robie, taken to Belgium, and after due authentication was publicly exposed for veneration, first at Antwerp, from whence it was removed to the Scots College at Douay; there it remained till the days of the French Revolution, when it disappeared amid the general spoliation of the churches. George Carruthers, the historian, saw this relic at Douay in 1785, and describes it as being in a state of extraordinary preservation, and with a quantity of fine hair, fair in colour, still upon it. It was enclosed in a bust of solid silver, larger than life; the crown, and chain about it, richly adorned with pearls and other jewels. With regard to the other remains of the Saint and her husband, they are stated to have been sent to Spain at the earnest request of Philip the Second, and placed by him in the Escorial. Some years ago Bishop Gillis, in the hope of restoring St. Margaret's relics to a Scottish shrine, applied for this purpose to the Spanish Government, but they could not then be identified. It is, however, possible to hope that these relics still exist, and that the day may

come when they will be brought back to the land which still glories in the memory of its illustrious Queen.

ART. VII.—FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

The Life of Frederick Denison Maurice. Chiefly Told in his own Letters. Edited by his Son FREDERICK MAURICE. Portraits. 2 Vols. London: 1884.

COLONEL MAURICE has accomplished a very difficult task in a very admirable way. He has written with great reverence and affection, but at the same time with a freedom, candour, and good sense which will obtain the approval of the majority at least of his father's friends and admirers. The *Life* has been long in preparation, and not a few complaints have been made respecting the delay in its appearance. Colonel Maurice justifies this seeming delay by an appeal to his father's expressed opinion that 'No man's Life ought to be published till twenty years after his death.' It may be justified also on other grounds. Though Maurice's influence was wide and deep—much wider and deeper there is good reason to believe than many are in the habit of imagining—it was not of a nature to evolve itself quickly, or to produce striking results. A popular teacher he could never be called, no more than he could be called a popular preacher. He was rather, as we once heard it said, a teacher of the people's teachers. His name, too, was never associated with any great outstanding doctrine or movement, or with anything that laid violent hands on the popular imagination or enlisted its more turbulent sympathies. It was identified rather with a spirit and a method, and it is only now that we are beginning to see their merits, or to be in a position to estimate their influence. And further, most of his life was spent in controversy. It was seldom, indeed, that he had not more than one upon his hands. Had the volumes before us been published earlier they might have created

a greater stir and found a larger number of readers, but it is questionable whether the purpose of their publication would have been served, or that a just estimate of Maurice's life and character would have been formed. The passions and prejudices which controversies, and more especially those of a religious or theological character, arouse, usually die hard, and of all things in the world they contribute least to accuracy of perception or correctness of opinion. That the *Life* has lost ought by the seeming delay we are far from believing. Whatever it may seem to have lost in temporary interest it has gained in historical value, and unless we are mistaken, it will long continue to be read both by those who desire light and guidance amid the perplexities of their spiritual life, and by those who wish to know how many of the theological tendencies of the present took their rise.

John Frederick Denison Maurice, the fifth child of Michael and Priscilla Maurice, was born at Normanstone, near Lowestoft, August 29, 1805. In later life, finding, we suppose, his baptismal name too cumbersome, he dropped the first part and habitually signed himself Frederick Denison Maurice.

His father was a minister among the old English Presbyterians who, during the eighteenth century, had drifted into Socinianism. His tone of mind, however, was not that of the later Unitarian dogmatists, but of the old Salters' Hall Presbyterians who at that somewhat memorable meeting in 1719 refused, in their zeal for freedom of religious opinion, to bind themselves or their congregations, though many of them were staunch Trinitarians, by any form of creed, even by one simply expressive of a worship of the Trinity, or to put their hands to any 'Humane Explications' as a 'Decisive Rule of Faith.' Profound belief in the divine inspiration of the Bible, respect for the faith of others, and a conviction that if he could only get an opportunity of stating his case, he could reason the whole world over into agreement with his own opinions, seem to have been his chief characteristics. The son of an 'orthodox' Dissenting minister and farmer, Michael Maurice received his education at Hoxton Academy, then an important Puritan seat of learning, but where most of the Professors were either avowedly or secretly under the influence of Unitarianism. After four years study he issued from

Hackney College, to which he had in the meantime removed, and which was in close connection with the Hoxton Academy, a Unitarian in opinion, but heart, soul, and spirit, an enthusiastic political Liberal. Six years later, in 1792, and when but twenty-six years of age, he was elected in opposition to, and to the infinite annoyance of Belsham, afternoon preacher in the same chapel in Birmingham, in which the celebrated Priestly was already morning preacher. With Priestly he seems to have formed an intimate friendship; and when the 'Church and King riots' broke out in Birmingham, and Priestly was obliged to seek refuge elsewhere, he assisted him to pack up his books and scientific instruments, and to flee to America. Towards the close of the same year he married Priscilla Hurry, the daughter of a Yarmouth merchant, also a Unitarian, and after living at Kirby Cane, near Beccles, for some years, removed with his wife to Normanstone, where his high reputation for classical scholarship and mathematical knowledge, enabled him to carry on successfully the business of a private school, and where Maurice was born.

The other members of his family were, besides his wife, three daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, and Anne, who were respectively ten, eight, and six years older than Maurice; a son William, who died in infancy; Emma, two years younger than Maurice, Priscilla, born in 1810, and Esther and Lucilla, who were born at Frenchay. The family circle also included two of the orphan children—a son and a daughter—of Edward Cobb Hurry, Mrs. Maurice's elder brother—their parents having died soon after Frederick Maurice was born. All received their education at the hands of Michael Maurice, and all were brought up, it is needless to say, in an unquestioning belief in the Unitarian faith.

Outside of his own family the Unitarianism of Michael Maurice seems to have been entirely unaggressive. In his sermons he strictly followed the old Presbyterian tradition; the doctrinal element was carefully left out, and their teaching was of an entirely moral character. His dislike to interfere with the doctrinal opinions of others was shared in, it would appear, by his wife. With his two eldest daughters it was different. While

sharing their father's intense political liberalism, they set aside the old tolerant Presbyterian tradition, and became in their Unitarianism dogmatic, aggressive, and intolerant. Their father's scruples as to pressing their creed upon his pupils they by no means respected, 'and when in 1806, a young orthodox governess was sent to take care of them—young as the elder of them then was—they succeeded in a very short time in bringing her over to their own belief.'

So matters continued in the Unitarian minister's family. All were Unitarians, but Unitarians of different types. In 1812 the family removed to Clifton, and a little more than a year afterwards to the pretty little Quaker village of Frenchay, about four miles from Bristol. Here a great change came over the spirit of the household. Elements of theological discord were introduced into it which never left it, and were a source of vexation and sorrow to Michael Maurice down to the end of his days. The first to introduce them was his niece, Anne Hurry, afterwards Mrs. Hardcastle, who chiefly through her intimacy at Frenchay with the well known Moravian authoress, Mrs. Schimmelpennick, and the impression produced upon her by the illness and death of her brother, seems to have been won over to the orthodox faith. The following year a similar change was reported to have occurred in the opinions of Elizabeth Maurice, Michael's eldest daughter. His daughter Anne had already warmly espoused the views of her cousin, Mr. Hardcastle; and on July 25, 1815, in accordance with the plan which all the members of the family seem to have adopted when they wished to communicate with each other on any trying or delicate subject, she wrote to her father in her own and her sister Elizabeth's name, 'We do not think it consistent with the duty we owe to God to attend a Unitarian place of worship,' and stated further that she could not any longer consent to take the Communion with him. They were subsequently joined by Mary, the second eldest daughter. At first they were all strongly influenced by Wesley's teaching. Afterwards they for a while became strong Calvinists, the form of belief most offensive to Unitarians and to their father. All underwent a second baptism. Elizabeth passed into the Church of England, while Mary and Anne became members in the congregation presided

over by Mr. Vernon and afterwards by Foster the Essayist. Their agreement, however, on the main points of Calvinism did not prevent their disagreement on other points of religious conviction, and the house was often the scene of eager theological controversy. In these trying circumstances Michael Maurice seems to have acted with prudence. He left his daughters to act according to their own convictions, and only exacted from them a promise that they would in no way influence the younger children. By and by, however, his wife, doubtless influenced by the discussions and example of her eldest daughters, announced to him her conviction that 'Calvinism is true,' and requested him to tell her how she could, with least pain to him, attend some other place of public worship than his. Her Calvinism was somewhat peculiar. The proofs that she was one of the *elect* she could never discover. That her son Frederick was one of that chosen band she firmly believed; and as for her daughters, respecting their own inclusion in it they do not seem to have ever had the slightest doubt.

Such was the religious and theological atmosphere in which Maurice grew up. In the formation of his theological opinions his father studiously refrained from interfering. He seems to have taken him into all his practical schemes of social improvement, but to have left him entirely free, in accordance with the principles of toleration he so firmly held, to form his own opinions. As a boy Maurice describes himself as wanting in observation.

'I was singularly,' he writes, 'the "No Eyes" of the story which was read to me out of "Evenings at Home," and anything social or political took a hold of me such as no objects in nature, beautiful or useful, had. My sister Emma said to me, when we were both grown up, that the scent of some violets which we gathered together as children at Normanstone had never passed out of her soul. How I envied her the freshness and freedom of heart which that experience implied'!

One of his consins describes him as 'a bright intelligent boy; at times grave, and often sitting on a shelf in a book closet, taking down first one book and then another.' Another says of him, 'He was not an example of what, perhaps, would be regarded as the *model* schoolboy of the present day—for though naturally strong and robust in body, as he was active in mind, he took little part in games or athletic exercises.' His chief amusement seems

to have been reading, and long before he went up to Cambridge he had gone over an unusually wide range of English literature. It is curious to note, too, as illustrative of a passage he afterwards wrote, in his *Patriarchs and Lawgivers*, respecting the ideals of youth, that, when the two were not yet fifteen, he and his cousin, Dr. Goodeve, on returning from a country walk during which they had discussed their hopes for the future, drew up and signed the following resolution—'We pledge each other to endeavour to distinguish ourselves in after life, and to promote, as far as lies in our power, the good of mankind.' The resolution recalls Wordsworth's saying, 'The child is father of the man,' and gave promise of what Maurice, at least, afterwards became. The stories told of him during his earlier years are few and unimportant. He seems, however, to have been gradually drifting into the rigid Calvinism in which his mother and sisters were all agreed, notwithstanding their diversity of opinion on other religious matters, and to have accepted, or rather to have been quite ready to accept it, as the only possible theory of the universe. Writing to a personal friend of Erskine of Linlathen, he describes himself as 'a being destined to a few short years of misery here, as an earnest of and preparation for that more enduring state of wretchedness and woe' hereafter. His own account of these years is that they were 'years of moral confusion and contradiction.'

In October 1823 he set out for Cambridge. His father had readily given his consent to his going to the University; but not a few of the acquaintances of the family were somewhat suspicious of his being permitted to go there. Among them was Foster the Essayist, who objected to it on the ground that the Cambridge system tended to narrow the mind by confining it to classical and mathematical subjects. When Maurice arrived there he found Julius Hare—who the year before had left off studying for the bar in London, in order to take up a classical lectureship at Trinity College—in all the ardour of his first enthusiasm for the work which was probably the most congenial to him. Soon after his arrival Hare wrote that there was in his class-room 'a pupil whose metaphysical powers were among the greatest he had ever come in contact with, but that the man was so shy that it was almost

impossible to know him.' Maurice's impressions of Hare as a teacher have been before the world for some years. They were first printed in the Introduction which he wrote for the Collected Edition of the Archdeacon's *Charges*, and have since been reproduced in the Introductory Notices to the third edition of *The Victory of Faith*. Hare's lectures on Plato seem to have been specially serviceable to him. Amid the controversies continually going on at home he seems to have been haunted by the desire to find out some way of reconciling the conflicting opinions. Hare's Plato lectures seem to have pointed one out to him.

'They taught me,' he says, 'that there is a way out of party opinions; a principle which is not a compromise between them, but which is implied in both, and of which each is a witness. Hare did not tell us this. If he had he would have done us little good. Plato himself does not say it; he makes us feel it; and his interpreter was only useful as he led us to his author, and did not put himself between us and him.'

His admiration for Hare, we need hardly say, ripened in subsequent years into a warm and enduring friendship. At the time, however, his chief friends were Whitmore and Sterling, with whom, and at the famous Apostles' Club of which he appears to have been a kind of second founder, he found opportunities for breaking the silence he had been so long forced to observe at home, and for expressing some of the thoughts which were working in his mind. It was at or about this time that Sterling used to speak of 'picking up pebbles beside the ocean of Maurice's genius.' Along with his friend Whitmore, Maurice started and edited the *Metropolitan Quarterly Magazine*, the first number of which appeared in November, 1825. According to John Stuart Mill, no mean judge, the Magazine was distinguished by 'considerable literary merit;' but its career was short. After its fourth number it ceased to appear. Maurice's contributions to it were bold and vigorous, and though far from exhibiting that ease and simplicity of style which distinguish his more mature writings, they are exceedingly creditable. The writings of few young men of twenty show as firm a grasp or so extensive an acquaintance with literature. His theological opinions do not appear to have undergone any perceptible change. During the whole of his residence at Cambridge he seems to have been continually groping for light. He had

gone up with the intention of studying for the law, and kept the terms and exercises for the LL.B. degree, but when he found that in order to admission to the degree subscription to the 36th Canon was required, his conviction was that he could never fulfil the requirement. The suggestion was made to him that, as he was still eighteen months under the five years' standing necessary to the degree, it might be well for him to pause in his determination to have his name taken from the books in the hope that further search and thought might lead him to different conclusions; but he 'would not hang a bribe round his neck to lead his conscience,' and in that singularly pure and noble spirit which ruled his whole life, he promptly directed that his name should be at once struck off from the College books.

This was in the beginning of 1827. In the October of the same year he was in London, and began to contribute to the *Westminster Review*. At the London Debating Society he met with John Stuart Mill, Mr. Roebuck, and a number of the Owenites, and resumed his acquaintance with Sterling. Through his acquaintance with her brother he occasionally saw 'Fanny Kemble,' who is reported to have said to him, 'Oh, you are so proud that you would not be seen with me in public'! to which he is said to have retorted, 'If you go down Regent Street on an elephant, I will ride beside you on a donkey.' Sterling introduced him to the house of Mrs. Barton, from which they both afterwards received their wives. But of society Maurice saw little. His father wrote of him—

'He has too discouraging an opinion of himself and his performances. He will not suppose that any one forms a good opinion of him, and *really* desires his company. Hence he has never availed himself of the opportunities I possessed of introducing him to certain classes; what notice he has attained arises solely from the services he has rendered others, and not from any advantage which might have been conferred upon him.'

In January 1828 he joined the *Athenæum*, then recently established, under Mr. Silk Buckingham, and contributed a series of sketches of contemporary authors. In the following May, having with some of his friends become a proprietor of the *London Literary Chronicle*, he was appointed its editor, and when in the following July it was incorporated with the

Athenæum, he assumed the editorship of the united journals. For an editor, however, he had scarcely the requisite qualifications. The *Athenæum*, too, when taken over from Mr. Silk Buckingham, was already in bad odour with the public; the circulation was decreasing; and though Carlyle, Julius and Francis Hare, and J. S. Mill spoke well of the papers which began to appear in it under the new management, the opinion of the public seems to have been more accurately reflected in the saying of Mr. Francis Hare, 'How very stupid the *Athenæum* is.' The consequence was the journal soon became a financial failure, and about the end of May or the beginning of June 1829 Maurice relinquished the editorship. This, together with the dangerous illness of his sister Emma and his father's pecuniary embarrassment, consequent upon an unfortunate speculation in Spanish bonds, greatly depressed him and induced him to yield to the solicitations of his mother and sister to return home. Here he remained for some months contributing to the *Athenæum*, teaching his sisters, writing for 'Lardner's Biographies,' and working at his novel, *Eustace Conway*, he, Whitmore, and Sterling having each undertaken to write one. *Eustace Conway* was subsequently published by Bentley. At the time it seems to have created some stir, and to have evoked a variety of opinions. Sterling spoke well of it; so did Coleridge. One of the author's friends who was in the habit of using superlatives, declared that 'if it had not had the most villainous plot that had ever been constructed, it would have been the best novel that had ever been written.' Another said, 'Why, Maurice, how on earth did *you* ever come to write such a thing? Why, there is not a man in the whole book that I shouldn't like to have the hanging of.'

Meanwhile a great change had occurred in Maurice's theological opinions; the light for which he had long sought began to dawn. During his stay at home he had set himself to re-consider his position, and was altogether dissatisfied with it. He had commenced to study for the law, but was not pursuing it. The thought that he was living without any definite aim took serious hold upon him. His mother and sister, too, had re-opened the question of his return to Cambridge.

At last, after much consideration it was resolved that he should go to Oxford for the purpose of proceeding to his degree, and with a view possibly to his entering the Church. The reputation with which he went up to Oxford may be gathered from the following letter written by Arthur H. Hallam to Mr. Gladstone.

'I have to-day seen Rogers [Lord Blackford] who tells me amongst other things that you know Maurice. I know nothing better suited to a letter of somewhat a serious kind than an exhortation to cultivate an acquaintance which, from all I have heard, must be invaluable. I do not myself know Maurice, but I know well many whom he has known, and whom he has moulded like a second nature, and those, too, men eminent for intellectual powers, to whom the presence of a commanding spirit would, in all other cases, be a signal rather for rivalry than reverential acknowledgment. The effect which he has produced on the minds of many at Cambridge by the single creation of that Society of the Apostles (for the spirit, though not the form, was created by him) is far greater than I can dare to calculate, and will be felt, both directly and indirectly, in the age that is upon us.'

Mr. Gladstone, it would appear, was not slow to cultivate his acquaintance, though on which side the first advances were made is not known. 'The threads that drew us together,' says Mr. Gladstone in some slight reminiscences he has contributed to the biography,

'were so numerous that it would be hard to say which of us introduced himself to the other. My remembrance is that I received from Cambridge letters from many friends, perhaps chiefly from Arthur Hallam, full of the most unbounded admiration for your father. I cannot at a distance of fifty years recall the exact purport, but it was to the effect that a very remarkable man was coming amongst us, that naturally led me to be anxious to see much of him.'

Among the other friendships that Mr. Maurice formed at Oxford, the most notable, as the one which produced the most important results in his life, was the one he formed with Mr. Bruce, afterwards Lord Elgin. Through him he was made acquainted with the works of Erskine of Linlathen, and more especially with *The Brazen Serpent*, the influence of which upon his mind it is difficult to measure.

It was during this period (1830-31) that Maurice first broke silence on theological subjects. Indications are by no means

wanting in his previous letters that his mind was seriously occupied with them, but he never ventures on the expression of any positive opinion. His statements are now distinctly positive, and shew how firmly even thus early he had laid hold of those great principles which he afterwards made it the main business of his life to promulgate. In a letter written to his sister Priscilla in the beginning of 1831 he says:—

‘I think I am beginning to feel something of the intense pride and atheism of my own heart, of its hatred to truth, of its utter lovelessness; and something I do hope that I have seen very dimly of the way in which Christ, by being the Light and Truth manifested, shines into the heart and puts light there, even while we feel that the Light and Truth is still all in Him, and that in ourselves there is nothing but thick darkness. I do not know whether you have been led to think as much as I have lately about all those texts which represent Him as Light, as shining into the heart, and, in connection therewith, as wrestling with the powers of darkness. “There was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour.” “God is Light, and in Him is no darkness at all.” He that “caused the Light to shine out of darkness shine into your heart.” They afforded me very great delight some time ago when nothing else would; an intense thick darkness, darkness that might be felt, brooding over my mind, till the thought that had been brought to me as if from Heaven—“the light of the Sun is not in you but out of you, and yet you can see everything by it if you will open your eyes”—gave me more satisfaction than any other could. Since then another train of feeling led me to experience the intense misery of pride and self, as if that were the seat of the darkness, and that I could find no relief but in joining the two thoughts together; it was pride, it was self, it was sin, which separated between me and God, which produced the darkness. Christ had taken that away, and therefore the true Light shineth. . . . One text has been very pleasant to me lately, though it laid bare a long series of deceptions I have practised upon myself. It is that in the Romans about ascending to heaven to bring Christ down, or descending into the depth to bring Christ from the dead; whereas it is merely the word, simply the word, which we have to believe, to feed upon, and the results will follow.’ (Vol. I., 119-20).

On March 29, 1831, Maurice was baptized, his friends Acland and Jacobson, who was afterwards Bishop of Chester, standing as his sponsors; and in the February of the following year, while still at Oxford, he wrote to his father:—

‘With respect to what you call doctrinal or speculative views, my feeling is just this: I see that every good and wise man who is held up to my

admiration and imitation in the Bible, desired nothing less, and could be satisfied by nothing less, than communion with God. Every word in the Book of Psalms, in the Gospels, in the Epistles, and in the Prophecies, tells me this. They wished to know God, not in a vague, loose sense, but actually to know Him as a friend. Starting with no preparatory notions of God, but ready to receive everything he told them, they welcomed each new dispensation only because it told them something more of God ; because it enabled them more intelligently, more practically, more literally to converse with Him. I observe that all their sorrow arose from the loss of God's presence, all their joy from the possession of it, all their pleasure in expecting heaven from anticipation of it. I observe that they shrunk from the contemplation of no side or phase of God's character, that His holiness and His mercy were equally dear to them, and that, so far from viewing them as separate, they could not admire one without the other. They could not delight in His love unless they believed that He would admit no sin into His presence, for sin and love are essentially hostile ; they could not adore His holiness unless they believed that He had some way of removing their sinfulness and imparting His own character to them. The plain, obvious study of the Bible tells me this. Now, just as any system of divinity helps me to realize these feelings just so far do I believe it true. If I can honestly say of any doctrines, these teach me how I may converse with the holy and invisible God as a real living person, for as such the Bible holds Him forth to me in every line ; how I may overcome the difficulties to this intercourse which arise from His being unseen, from the evident impossibility of my forming a notion of Him by my own understanding, and from the unlikeness and dissimilarity of our characters ; if they show me how my character may be conformed to His, not how his may be brought down to mine ; if they inspire me with a desire for this intercourse, a delight in it, and a conviction of its reality, just so far as I can, after strict examination, say this of any doctrines, just so far have I a test that they are the doctrines of the Bible, the true doctrines, the doctrines according to godliness. Call them orthodox, heterodox, or what you will ; if they answer this description, I wish to hold them fast in life and death. But if they be anything less than this, I will reject them, and, by God's grace, will tear them out of my heart, though they should have the finest and best name in the world's books, as something essentially different from that faith which enable the prophets and patriarchs, the martyrs and apostles, the saints of every age, to endure as "*seeing Him who is invisible.*" (Vol. I., 132-3).

To these extracts we shall venture to add another. 'Examination papers' are not always interesting, but the following is. It was written by Maurice at his examination for ordination, January 14, 1834.

'Specify some of those erroneous and strange doctrines which on your admission to the priesthood you promise to "banish and put away."

'1. The doctrine that there is any merit in the creature which can entitle it to God's love; or any goodness in the creature at all disunited from God.

'2. The doctrine that there is now any bar to the admission of a sinner into God's presence, except that which his own unbelief creates.

'3. The doctrine that there is in God "any darkness at all," that there is in Him the least particle of selfishness, that he is merly a superior will, and not absolute righteousness and absolute love.

'4. The doctrine that men are more anxious to attain the knowledge of God than He is anxious to bring them to that knowledge.

'5. The doctrine that it is possible for the perfect God to behold any one except in the perfect Man, Christ Jesus, or that it is possible for man to behold God, except as revealed and manifested in Him.

'6. The doctrine of Antinomianism in all its shapes; that the end of God in bringing men to the faith of Christ is not to make them holy as He is holy; that it is a privilege to be allowed to commit iniquity, instead of a privilege to be delivered from iniquity; that there is any reward so great or glorious which God can offer to His creatures as that of making them partakers of His divine character.

'7. The doctrine that man can worship God except in the Spirit; and

'8. The doctrine that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are not "in glory equal, in majesty co-eternal." (Vol. I., 159-60).

These extracts are not only noteworthy as indicating the extent to which Maurice had travelled over the wide field of theology and the way in which he had apprehended some of the profoundest problems; when taken in connection with his theological and even his philosophical writings, they enable us to appreciate the carefulness with which he had examined the most vital questions and how thoroughly stable and unchanging his convictions were. There is not a single doctrinal statement in the above passages with which readers of his writings are not perfectly familiar. Some one or other of them he is continually bringing forward. Yet we believe that we are quite within the truth when we say that not a single word can be taken from any of his many works which is in the slightest degree at variance with what he has here said. Writers equally consistent are rare, and more especially among theologians. The fault of most is that they are not consistent, that many of their ideas are inconsequential and mutually contradictory. Into the convictions which he finally adopted, Maurice may

literally be said to have grown. They were not ideas or opinions which he had gathered from books or conversation, and which had become his by a process of accretion; they were all worked out from his own deepest experience. And hence in reading his biography we learn what we had often suspected, that his writings are not merely the records of a theologian's speculations, but the outpourings of his heart, the confessions of his inmost life. We do not mean, of course, that he never changed an opinion. On one notable point he did. He began by saying that subscription is no bondage, and ended by saying it is bondage. But whatever growth there was about his mind was along the same lines and from within, and was due not so much to the accumulation of the extraneous material of thought as to an ever-widening perception of the operations and all-embracing character of the principles with which he originally set out as the ultimate foundations of belief and life.

Bubbenhall, a small village in Warwickshire, was the place where Maurice first entered upon his labours as a minister of the gospel. His reception there was curious. The people had never had a resident clergyman among them, and were resolved not to have one. There was no house set apart for the use of the officiating minister, and for some time they persistently refused to get one ready for him. It was only when he announced that unless a house could be obtained he would pitch a tent in the churchyard, that they at last agreed to put one in order for him. Whilst here he undertook, at the suggestion of Mr. Rose, the editor of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*, the article on 'Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy,' which afterwards grew into the complete treatise on the subject, the revision and expansion of which, in its successive editions, occupied him with short intervals during the remainder of his life. His opinion in regard to his position at Bubbenhall may be gathered from the following letter which he addressed to his friend Sir T. Acland.

'I am now settled in a very small parish (of about 250 souls) in Warwickshire. I am the sole manager of it (bating the very great help I receive from a sister who lives with me) as my rector is one of the tutors of Wadham. I have also the charge of a young pupil. . . . I do not know

whether it will strike you as the greatest oddity and anomaly that I should be minister to a set of farmers and labourers, most of whom have not a notion beyond their teams, or that I should be appointed to form the mind of one who, if he lives, will be Lord Somers. Whether my theorising propensities would make me most unsuitable for the first vocation, or my ignorance of the world, and my gawkishness, for the second, may be an amusing question for you ; but so God hath ordered it.'

In January 1836 he took up his residence at Guy's Hospital, having some months before begun work among the patients and students. Sir E. Strachey, who resided with him there, has given us the following beautiful account of him at this period :

'Maurice had not long entered on the duties of the chaplaincy when I arrived ; his sister Priscilla kept house for him, as she had done at Bubbenthal, and as she continued to do till his marriage. . . . He had the same gentle, shy, depressed manner which he had through life ; the shyness and depression being, as may be supposed, far greater then than afterwards. I remember one evening his saying, half to himself, "The world is out of joint," and on his sister Priscilla replying in a lively tone, "Then you must set it right," he added, "Ah ! that is the misery, as the poet says

"Ah ! cruel spite,
That ever I was born to set it right" !

in a tone which showed how deeply and painfully he felt what he said. He seemed to me always lamenting, always reproaching himself with his deficiencies in the powers of practical life ; and certainly he was very impractical in ordinary matters. . . .

' All that he was in after life, and to the end of his life, he was already in that period of comparative youth. There was the same clear, bright, active intellect ; the same thirst for knowledge and power of rapidly acquiring it from books and men ; the same imagination, love of humour, and sympathy with other men's thoughts ; the same originality in thinking for himself, and expressing his own thoughts, so that he seemed from the first a teacher and master, not a learner and disciple. And then, as always afterwards, he was even greater morally and spiritually than he was in intellect. For his intellect was but the fit instrument of a will and character which were thoroughly humane, because they were kept by a saintlike personal piety in constant union with God. Then, as always afterwards, the habitual tone of his thoughts and word was that of a man conscientious and just, tolerant and forbearing, humble, gentle, tender, and loving.

' He was in those early days, as always, the strongest man I have ever known, if it be strength to do steadily to the end the work that is set before a man, undeterred by any doubts or difficulties however

great and many ; yet I am sure he would have said—and I believe that it was true—that the strength was not his own, but that of a higher will than his own working through his weakness. It was the strength, not of self-creation, but of self-surrender. . . . It has been well said that no words can more exactly describe the mission of Maurice than those of St. John : “A man was sent from God . . . the same came for a witness to bear witness of the Light.” With all his humility, with all his consciousness of his weakness for the work, he never doubted his mission, but felt and knew that he was sent from God, to bear witness of the light. Here he was strong, and the cause of strength to others.’ (Vol. I., 198-201).

During his residence at Guy’s Maurice’s public life may be said to have begun. The Tractarian Movement was then in full swing. The leaders of that movement hoped to find in him a useful ally ; but the publication of his Letter on Baptism completely disappointed them. Then and during the whole of his life he persistently stood aloof from all Church parties. He is usually claimed as a Broad Churchman, and amongst the Broad Church school of divines he is usually classed. Not a few will be surprised to learn that with the members of that school of theologians he had no sympathy. Writing towards the close of his life of the Oxford Movement, he says :—

‘Every hope I had for human culture, for the reconciliation of opposing schools, for blessings to mankind, was based on theology. What sympathy, then, could I have with the Liberal party which was emphatically anti-theological, which was ready to tolerate all opinions in theology, only because people could know nothing about it, and because other studies were much better pursued without reference to it. . . . They feel and I feel that we are not a step nearer to each other in 1870 than we were in 1835. They have acquired a new name. They are called Broad Churchmen now, and delight to be called so. But their breadth seems to me to be narrowness. They include all kinds of opinions. But what message have they for the people, who do not live upon opinions or care for opinions ? Are they children of God, or must they now and for ever be children of the devil ? The Broad Churchman gives no answer. To me life is a burden unless I can find one.’ (Vol. I., 183-4).

The truth is, we think, he had seen too much of theological partisanship in his early life, and had learned too thoroughly the lesson which he tells us Julius Hare and Plato helped him to learn, ever to commit himself to any party however large or powerful, or however much of truth it might appear to have

on its side. For similar reasons he always refused to head a party. He preferred the independence which he believed the truth and his own conscience secured to him, and endeavoured in season and out of season 'to cultivate the same noble preference in others.

Besides his novel, Mr. Maurice had already published the *Memorials* of his two sisters, Anne and Emma, and a pamphlet entitled *Subscription no Bondage*, when towards the end of 1838 he published the *Kingdom of Christ*, a series of letters addressed to a Quaker. The purpose of the volumes was to vindicate the position of the Catholic Church as 'the spiritual constitution' designed to maintain both human and divine relationships. Both in the pamphlet and in the book form the Letters attracted considerable attention; a second edition was called for in 1840, and a new edition has been recently published. In one of the earliest letters of the series Maurice proclaimed open war against the religious newspapers, and though no notice was taken of the denunciation at the time, when the *Kingdom of Christ* was issued the religious press took up the challenge and turned upon him with the utmost virulence. The strife thus begun was kept up during the remainder of his life. There can be no doubt that Maurice provoked the controversy and did much to keep it alive, but at the same time the newspapers cannot be acquitted of the charge of intentionally or unintentionally misrepresenting his opinions. The work, however, which brought him most prominently before the public was his now famous *Theological Essays*. The aim of these essays, as is now pretty well known, was to deal with the difficulties felt by Unitarians in respect to the orthodox creed, and to reconcile them to it. In many quarters their publication created an intense feeling of alarm—a feeling which the action of the religious press in no wise tended to abate. Though controverting the opinions of the Unitarians, Maurice was charged with being tainted with Socinianism himself, and with giving utterance to statements, more especially in relation to the doctrine of eternal punishment, at variance with the doctrines of the Church of England and utterly unsound. At the time he was the Professor of Divinity in King's College, and had already

aroused the suspicion of the authorities of that institution by his connection with the Christian Socialist movement. A lengthy correspondence which ensued between him and Dr. Jelf, the Principal of the College, was ended by the latter submitting the correspondence to the Council of the College, and asking their action upon it. The deliberations of the Council were long and frequent. While the matter was still *sub judice* Maurice received the following letter from Mr. F. J. Furnival:—

‘I was at J. H. Parker’s at eight o’clock this evening, and the head shopman said the correspondence was not out, and they did not expect it before the end of the week ; it was being printed at Oxford. I said, “Do you hear much about the matter?” the man said, “I’ve heard of nothing else the last day or two, either in the shop or out of it. You may depend upon it, sir, there are thousands taking the deepest interest in it. We don’t know what other points the dispute is on, but if it’s only about everlasting punishment, I’ve had it from all the clergy I’ve seen, from the arch-deacon to the curate this day, that it isn’t a Church doctrine, and if they dismiss Mr. Maurice for this only, it is most unjust ; but, almost all think there must be something more, a general charge of Socinianism or something of that sort ; if it’s only eternal punishment there’ll be *thousands* sympathising with Mr. Maurice. The people we serve are all High, not bound up with Mr. Maurice, as J. W. Parker’s people are, and nine out of ten are clergymen, but they’ll *all* be with Mr. Maurice : they all say it isn’t a Church doctrine ; and if you take the Bible and common sense to judge by, why, sir, its the most abominable and horrible doctrine ever preached.”

‘The man volunteered all this, and a good deal more, to my occasional “Ah, indeed !” before he asked where he was to send the pamphlet.

‘Coming from Jelf’s publishing place, I was glad to hear this report.’
(Vol. II., 203-4.)

After much deliberation the governing body of King’s College passed a resolution to request Maurice to resign his connection with the College. Maurice had no wish to be a party to his own condemnation, and refused, demanding to be either acquitted or dismissed. He was accordingly dismissed, and not wishing to bring any of the societies with which he was connected under the same stigma as himself, he severed his relations with Queen’s College, an institution he had originated under the patronage of the Queen, for the higher education of women, and offered to send in his resignation as Chaplain at Lincoln’s Inn. The Benchers of that Society, however, generously declined to receive it.

Not the least interesting episode in the stir caused by the publication of the *Essays* was the attempt on the part of the late Dr. Candlish to utter a counterblast against the erroneous doctrines Maurice was supposed to have promulgated. The counterblast took the shape of a lecture devoted to the examination of the *Essays*, and was delivered before an immense audience in Exeter Hall on the evening of February 14, 1854, at the request of the London Young Men's Christian Association. The lecture, which was afterwards published, was from the point of view of the Free Church theology, passably good, and marked by great fairness and courtesy. Maurice replied to it by publishing *The Doctrine of Sacrifice deduced from the Scriptures*, to which he prefixed a long 'Dedicatory Letter' addressed to the members of the Young Men's Christian Association, and dealing with some of Dr. Candlish's remarks. This letter is in many respects characteristic and important, but we refer to it now mainly as indicating the position Maurice claimed to hold. Towards the close of his lecture Dr. Candlish remarks:—"There is little or nothing that is really new in them [the *Essays*]. Mr. Maurice cannot be called an original writer as to matter, though his manner and style are fresh." To this Maurice replies:—

'How thankfully do I accept the testimony of Dr. Candlish to the fact, "that there is little or nothing new" in my writings! It is the point which I have been labouring to establish in every one of them. If he can point out even "the little" which he has found new in any part of them, I shall at once begin to suspect it; nay, I shall cheerfully give it up to his mercy. I have affirmed continually—I have affirmed again in this book—that I have discovered nothing, that what I am saying is to be found in every creed of the Catholic Church; in the Prayers and Articles of the Church to which I belong; most emphatically in the Bible, from which they derive their authority, and to which they refer as their ultimate standard. But while I utterly disclaim *novelty*, which I suppose, is what Dr. Candlish means by *originality in matter*, there is a sense in which I earnestly desire to be original myself; and in which I desire that you and all the young men of England, should be so likewise. An original man is not one who invents—not one who refuses to learn from others. I say, boldly, no original man ever did that. But he is one who does not take words and phrases at second hand; who asks what they signify; who does not feel that they are his, or that he has a right to use them till he knows what they signify. The original man is fighting for his life; he must know

whether he has any ground to stand upon ; he must ask God to tell him, because man cannot. . . . All men are capable of this originality ; it is not a special talent ; it comes from that earnestness of purpose, that longing to find what is not dependent on ourselves or on human caprice, which, I believe, is awakened in us by the Spirit of Truth, and by Him only. If I have not this originality, may that Spirit impart it to me, for to be without it is death. If I have it in any measure, I shall not make any one who receives any influence from me the retailer of my opinions ; I shall help to put him in a position in which he can unfold my imperfect perceptions and correct my errors—because I shall point him to the true Teacher of him, of me, of every man.'

The highest preferment Maurice obtained was a professorship at Cambridge. Among the books on which he rested his formal application for the Chair were his *Theological Essays* and *What is Revelation?* but notwithstanding the opposition which they had raised against him, he was almost unanimously elected. His election did great honour to his electors, and was hailed by Kingsley and other of his friends as a triumph. At Cambridge, as during the whole of his residence in London, he continued his self-denying and ceaseless efforts for the education of the working classes. As an author he was indefatigable. His controversy with the religious press continued, but several of the newspapers began to speak out manfully in his favour. In a note to the 'Dedictory Letter' prefixed to the *Doctrine of Sacrifice* he makes feeling and grateful allusion to the conduct of the *Nonconformist* and *Guardian* at a time when he had lost, as he says his respectability with the class for which the latter was written. His mind was ever active, ever striving to set right what he believed was wrong, and though often giving offence, he never gave it intentionally, or if intentionally, only because he felt that to be silent would be to sin. When necessary he could say sharp and biting things, and when he deemed it necessary he did not hesitate to say them. He seems to have had a naturally strong tendency to sarcasm, but always kept it under careful restraint. Though generally deemed unpractical, the several institutions he founded for the benefit of the working classes and the interest he took in others prove that he was, if anything, the reverse. He died,

it may be said, of overwork. His last words were—'The knowledge of the love of God—the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be amongst *you*—amongst *us*—and remain with us for ever.'

Our sketch has been necessarily brief and hasty. Respecting the character of his theology we have said nothing; nor have we said anything respecting his manner of making it known. We have heard him likened to a Neo-Platonist and an Alexandrian theologian; we have heard much too of his mistiness as a writer, and have listened to many a dithyrambic utterance against his teaching, and on these and many related topics we should like to have said much, but our space forbids. Our aim has been to convey to our readers some idea of Maurice's life and of the principles by which it was formed; and whether we have succeeded or not, if what we have now written should induce any to read Colonel Maurice's volumes, or better still, to commence or renew their study of Maurice's works, and to love and cherish his memory, we shall not have written in vain. A purer, gentler, more humble or devoted being than Frederick Denison Maurice never adorned the ministry of the Church of England, or indeed of any Church, and the finished biography which his son has now published, is a fitting and noble memorial of his noble and unselfish life.

ART. VIII.—A MINISTER FOR SCOTLAND.

THE question of the appointment of a Minister, specially charged with the conduct of Scottish affairs has made notable progress during the past three months. In one day a full half of the exceptions and objections that had been raised to the demand were cleared out of the path. The remarkable meeting held in Edinburgh on the sixteenth of January, may fairly be regarded as a conclusive answer to the objections founded on lack of proof that the people of Scotland desire, or are greatly concerned about, the proposed organisation of a Department of

State for the management of the national business. Whether or not there are real grievances, it is beyond all doubt that there is a very real and keen sense of grievance. Whatever may be thought of the demands that were made or of the arguments used to support them, only a strong and widely diffused dissatisfaction with the present arrangements, and a general conviction of the necessity and urgency of reform could have brought together so large and influential, so enthusiastic and so unanimous an assemblage of representative Scotsmen of all classes and shades of opinion, as that which met in the Free Assembly Hall.

In making out a case for redress, it is, of course, needful to show not only that there is a genuine demand for a change, but that the demand is in its nature rational, just, and practicable. An antecedent objection that has been taken to the movement for the establishment of an independent system of Scottish administration under the control of a Minister of the Crown, is that those who are agitating in the matter have no definite or consistent ideas of the objects which they desire to attain. The meeting in Edinburgh, we are told, was a 'Babel of sound' swayed by a 'vague sentiment' of local patriotism; the several points of view and the several aims revealed in the speeches were almost as numerous as the speakers.

It were strange if the attributes of vagueness and confusion of thought truly attach themselves to the National Meeting, and to the national demands which there and elsewhere have been placed on record. Want of clearness of judgment and practicality of aim have never been counted as among the besetting weaknesses of Scotsmen. Those who have moved and supported resolutions and presented petitions declaring that 'a separate and independent department for the conduct of distinctively Scottish affairs is imperatively required' have not the reputation of being mere talkers and dreamers. Members of both Houses of Parliament, magistrates of burghs and counties, merchants, in a word, men of action and of experience in every department of civil life, they are exactly those who have had at once the most intimate acquaintance with the defects of the present system, and the best means of judging in what direction we should look for reform. When they speak of the intolerable delays and inconvenience

attending the transaction of public business in Scotland they emphatically testify of that they do know. To the objection that the need for a separate Department of State was presented in a bewildering variety of aspects, the obvious answer is, that the question is many-sided. The creation of an efficiently organized head and the consequent invigorating and quickening of the national pulse may be expected to be felt not in one part of the Scottish body politic, but throughout all its members. The fact that some of the advocates of the reform may be more impressed with the benefits to be derived from the furthering of the work of legislation at Westminster appears to them no good reason for not heartily joining hands with those who may have more specially interested themselves in the improvement of the work of administration in Scotland. Like men who know their business and the value of time, they devoted their attention mainly to that branch of the question on which they were best qualified to speak, instead of ranging over the whole field. The confusion and bewilderment may be set down to the effects of distance, unfamiliarity, and careless survey on the part of southern critics, and not to any fault in the manner of presenting the Scottish case.

That there is 'sentiment' largely mixed up with it need not however, be denied. On the contrary, it has to be affirmed as the essential element of the case that there exists a deep sentiment of Scottish nationality, which makes it at once an object of the highest political wisdom and a matter of practical expediency to uphold and restore efficiency to Scottish institutions. A full half of the mistakes that have been made in the treatment of this question have arisen from overlooking or miscalculating the strength and persistency of this feeling. Scotsmen living in Scotland and taking an active share in its public affairs are not likely to fall into any such blunder. They know that the features peculiar to the laws and system of local government under which they live are not mere arbitrary differences separating them from their southern brethren, but the natural expression of a distinct type of national character growing on a distinct historical soil. Long and close intercourse and community of interests between the northern and southern parts of the kingdom have worn away

most of the prejudices at one time mutually entertained by Englishmen and Scotsmen. They have become practically identified in their commercial and industrial system, and in the tone and current of public thought on all that concerns the general interests of the Empire; but in regard to the matters that would fall under the direction of a Scottish Department, the national predilections and opinion remain practically unimpaired.

Not only is this so, but in the judgment of men of thought and experience in both countries it is considered good that it should continue so. Something has been said of the advantages of approximating and assimilating the laws in force throughout the United Kingdom. Apart from other benefits it is pointed out that a great saving of time and of friction would be effected were it possible to adopt uniform legislation for the three countries instead of passing, as often happens, separate measures to suit the different circumstances of each. This may be freely granted, with the proviso that assimilation must be in the direction of improvement—from the lower to the higher type, and must proceed with the free consent of all sides. Other excellences must not be sacrificed for the sake of uniformity. In the case of all new legislation, the desirableness of making the law one of general application should, no doubt, be kept in view, and acted upon whenever that is feasible. So long, however, as Scotsmen entertain their present convictions regarding the comparative merits of their own legal, ecclesiastical, and educational systems and those of England, any tampering with their special institutions, or the ignoring of their opinions on the subject is the worst possible means of promoting either uniformity of laws or unity of feeling.

That there have been ignorance and some disposition towards aggression in high places they have sorrowful occasion to know. A significant instance was the degradation of the Lord Advocate's office, carried out under the auspices of the late Government. In the area of choice, in rank, powers, and constitution, the office was wanting in the essentials of a really effective and satisfactory Scottish Department, but still the Lord Advocate was in a sense an official having the direction of 'distinctively Scottish affairs.' The policy which deprived him of what amount of initiative and of independent decision he possessed in regard to Scottish legis-

lation and administration, and his relegation 'to a back room in the Home Office,' is now almost universally acknowledged to have been a mistake. The appointment of an Under Secretary in the Home Department, charged with the oversight of Scottish business, whatever good effect it may have had in securing that our interests should have at least some one looking after them, was obviously of the nature of a temporary arrangement. The need for tinkering has helped to make more plain and strong the necessity for thorough revision and reconstruction.

Scottish affairs have grown enormously, and continue to grow in bulk and importance. Since the early years of the century the population has more than doubled, and by next census we shall probably number four millions of people. In wealth, in industrial and commercial enterprise and in all the resources of civilisation—except the possession of a properly equipped centre of local government—progress has been more rapid still. With the fruits of their distinctive institutions and laws, Scotsmen have reason to be well satisfied. With respect to these there is no breach or division of opinion; they bear that essential relation to the national character and customs that the growth of a tree does to its soil and its life sap, or that the convolutions of a shell do to its occupants; they are therefore priceless and irreplaceable. But they stand in need of improvements and alterations in detail, and the nature and necessity of these improvements Scotsmen think they understand best themselves, and in many cases have long ago made up their minds as to the particular form of change. But Scotsmen also find that they cannot get their wishes carried out, because they have no means of making either the general weight of Scottish interests, or the urgency of particular demands, duly felt in quarters where the power of facilitating legislation and strengthening administration resides. Hence the duty, in which the Convention of Royal Burghs, as an ancient representative national body, took an initiative that met with prompt response and approval, to make clear by 'demonstration' the national wish and will in the matter of an independent Scottish Department as a guarantee against the recurrence of past neglect, and as an instrument for securing future reforms. It has been asked for with unmistakeable

earnestness and with considerable emphasis and urgency, because the country has learned, after long practice of the virtues, that it is not likely to gain what it wants by meekness and patience; because the matter itself is urgent, and is fast becoming intolerable; and because there is a feeling abroad that it is only by taking a resolute and vigorous tone that it can hope to make its wishes heard by the distant and preoccupied ear of London.

It is beyond question that the unprecedented conditions and peculiar influence of London society have had an important effect in producing the state of things of which Scotland complains. The overgrown bulk of the Metropolis, and its vast and increasing power of attraction and absorption, exercise a disturbing influence on the harmonious movement of the political and social systems that revolve around it. Physicists tell us that could a man be removed to the surface of the sun and live, he would find that his weight according to terrestrial measure had increased to several tons. The same exaggerated sense of weight seems to be attached to each atom at our political centre of gravity. It is felt by Scotsmen resident in London as well as by Londoners born. In the former, removal to the Metropolis, implies not only a sense of increased specific gravity, but an alteration in the point of view. The most modest among us is barely capable of holding his mind in such nice equilibrium, in gauging the relative importance of affairs, that his own personality makes no impression on the scale. There is always a fine unconscious sense that with the loss of his presence the problem has been deprived somehow of a share of its glory and freshness, and is no longer of such absorbing interest to gods and men. Since, then, there is a natural law affording explanation of the phenomena, Scotsmen in Scotland need neither be surprised nor disappointed that Scotsmen in London do not see eye to eye with them in this matter of the necessity and the urgency for a change in the management of national affairs. But there is all the more reason why they should give their own minds steadfastly to the redress of their grievances, seeing that help cannot be counted upon elsewhere. It has been said that London makes the brains and marrow of Scotland. The process may be not nearly so com-

plete as has sometimes been thought; but one of the benefits that may fairly be looked for, from the creation of a Scottish Department of State, is that, so far as administrative ability is concerned, it will, in a measure, be arrested.

In the mind of the London government official, more particularly of the permanent official, there exists another disqualifying obstacle to the proper appreciation of the needs and desires of Scotsmen in the matter of the management of their national affairs. He is part of the machine of administration, and so is naturally disposed to regard it as omniscient and all powerful, and as nearly perfect as a thing of human invention can be. He is accustomed to consider Scottish business as a kind of fag-end or supplement to the greater business of England. Compared with other matters that come within the scope of departmental supervision, the concerns of this part of the kingdom are as the small dust of the balance, and he is ready to take up the isles as a very little thing. If, as happens, there is borne in on him the difficulty of coping with the pressure and accumulation of official work, and the inconvenience of dealing with two sets of institutions differently organised, and in some cases founded on different principles of law, it is hard to persuade him out of the belief that an adequate reform can be had without sacrificing the advantage of his personal superintendence and experience.

Scotsmen who have had practical acquaintance with the methods and results of management from London have had reason to form a different opinion. Many complain of the difficulty they find in impressing officials either with what they consider to be a due sense of the importance and urgency of business in Scotland, or with the desirableness of regarding it from a Scottish point of view. There is no intention and no occasion to charge neglect or inefficiency against the members of the Home or other Departments having control of the machinery of local government in Scotland; the fault lies in the system—a system of centralisation carried to an extreme length and in a wrong direction. English concerns, and English ideas and methods, must, of necessity, fill the foreground of official thoughts; and Scotland must be relegated to the background.

It is of this that people north of the Tweed complain. They

believe that their local affairs have an essential importance, and that their local institutions have an inter-relation, a homogeneity, and a continuity which entitle them to be placed in charge of a separate Department of State; and that instead of occupying odd corners in the minds of several Secretaries and Under Secretaries, and permanent officials, the interests of Scotland should have the full and undivided attention of a Minister, who, on one side is in immediate sympathetic touch with Scottish feeling and desires, and on the other can make his voice and influence felt in the councils of the Ministry of the day. Only in this way, it is believed, can an adequate pledge be obtained that the national wants in the matter of legislation will have due recognition, and be pressed on the notice of the government and parliament of the day, and the system of Scottish administration be so energised and correlated as to work with the maximum of efficiency and the minimum of friction and cost.

Questions have been raised as to the title and rank which ought to be held by a Scottish Minister; and on these and other points Mr. Gladstone, in his interview with the deputation from Scotland on the nineteenth February invited expressions of opinion and practical remarks on 'details' for the information of the Government. The proposal embodied in the Government bill of last session to apply the salary of the Lord Privy Seal to the purposes of the Scottish Department had the advantage of removing some difficulties that stand in the way of meeting the national demand. The Privy Seal is at present virtually 'in commission'; it is an office 'without portfolio'; and the transference to it of Scottish business would entail no accumulation or confusion of duties, and no increase to the number of Ministers of first rank. On the other hand, the proposal does not appear to have met with general approval, partly from a mistaken idea that it would restrict the choice, in the selection of a Minister, to members of the House of Lords; and the propriety and advantage of making the title of the head of the new Scottish Department express its purpose and connection with Scotland must be obvious to all.

A question of perhaps more practical importance is, whether the Minister for Scotland should of necessity be a member of the Cabinet. Mr. Gladstone spoke from experience of the difficulties

of 'Cabinet making,' and of the desirableness of leaving as much 'elbowroom' as possible in carrying out this delicate work. There need be little doubt as to his opinions, and, probably, the opinions of any future Premier on this point. But if, out of regard for these difficulties, Scotland does not insist on a hard and fast rule being laid down on the subject, she will not be satisfied unless the holder of the office is not only a 'Minister of Privy Council rank,' but also in practice a member of the Cabinet. So much seems requisite out of consideration not only for the 'personal eminence' in character and in the esteem of his fellow countrymen which would be expected to reside in him, and for the importance of the duties and interests committed to his charge, but also for the due impress of that character and these interests, in the government schemes of legislation and in the order and procedure of public business. Any arrangement therefore that would leave the Minister for Scotland outside the Cabinet would be regarded as justifiable only by very exceptional circumstances, and as at the best most unwelcome to Scotland.

This brings us to the consideration of the benefits that may be looked for, in the existence of a Scottish Department having an influential Minister at its head in the acceleration of Scottish business in Parliament. It is undoubted that nothing has done more for the ripening of opinion on this question than the disabled condition of Parliament for the fulfilment of its legislative duties. It is the literal truth to say that, if every member of Parliament were gifted with discretion and patriotism, and never spoke oftener or longer than necessary, the time at the disposal of the House of Commons is not one whit more than sufficient for the proper discharge of its work. The full discussion of the legislative measures laid before it, the careful consideration of the national expenditure and the condition of the national defences and machinery of civil government, and the supervision of the vast and intricate relations of our foreign and colonial policy, make up a burden of labour such as has never been laid on any other representative assembly of ancient or modern times. Everybody knows that neither the House of Commons, nor the minds of a number of individual members are so constituted as to perform this work satisfactorily, or even

tolerably well. There are members who obstruct business scientifically and of malice aforethought; there are others who do so no less effectually by ill-timed, tedious, and fruitless talk. Every minute thus wasted means so much deducted from the efficiency of Parliament, and so much added to the accumulation of arrears of work. Legislation proceeds in a series of spasms. Rapid progress is only made in the small hours of the morning or in the dregs of the session, when Obstruction has spent itself, and the talkers have retired to their beds, or to the moors, to recruit themselves for fresh efforts. Much is left undone; and what is done is not done well. The necessary votes for carrying on the business of the country are delayed until the last possible moment, and yet are passed in the end without having received that thorough and business-like examination which they deserve. Wise men have often to refrain from speaking or proposing amendments, when bills are being discussed, because, while fools insist in talking their fill, there is no hope, except in silence, of getting beneficent measures passed.

In this congestion of parliamentary business, no part of the country has suffered more than Scotland. Where legislation resolves itself into a struggle of six coaches abreast through Temple Bar, the coach without a driver on the box naturally goes to the wall. Measures dealing with University, Public Health, Local Government, legal and other reforms, admitted to be important and urgent, are regularly introduced, blocked, postponed, and relegated to another session, because other business, and especially Irish business, is more pressed; and this process annually repeated begets impatience. It is true that during the session of 1882, the efforts of Lord Rosebery as Under Secretary for Scottish affairs, and of the Lord Advocate, issued in the pressing and passing of Acts, in which the interests of the Scottish people were more specially concerned. That success has been sufficient to encourage the desire and expectation, that by strengthening and extending the same system of leverage still more valuable results may be secured.

Besides suffering from hopes postponed, Scotland has also had experience, in a very practical form, of the inconvenience arising from past neglect. The recent action of the English courts, in

endeavouring to push their jurisdiction into Scotland, has proceeded under rules of court sanctioned and modified by Parliament. and has afforded curious evidence of the ignorance of Scottish laws and international rights prevailing even in highest judicial circles in England. At the same time it has given occasion for manifestations of the intensely strong feeling that these rights should be preserved intact. In the Orr-Ewing case, the outcome has been a direct conflict of jurisdiction between the High Court of Appeal and the Court of Session.

It is true that the Lord Chancellor has declared that he does not know, or has not been made aware, of any conflict between the courts of the two countries. What, however, are the facts in the Orr-Ewing case, which, be it remembered, furnishes only one, though the most prominent, of a series of instances of attempts made, and generally made successfully, to invade from the south the province properly belonging to Scottish jurisdiction? A Scotsman, resident in Scotland, dies, leaving, by will, property of the value of nearly half a million sterling. Seventeen-eightieths of that property is situated in Scotland. The beneficiaries and the trustees are for the most part Scotsmen, having their domicile north of the Tweed. The trustees take possession of the estate in the ordinary way by obtaining confirmation in the Commissary Court of Dumbartonshire, and are proceeding to administer it, when they are stopped by a decree, confirmed by the highest English tribunal of law, ordering that, in the ostensible interests of one of the six beneficiaries, who resides in England and is 'under age,' the whole estate shall be transferred to England, and administered under the direction of the Court of Chancery. In the meantime, by action taken in the highest tribunal in Scotland, the estate has been committed to the charge of a judicial factor to be administered according to Scottish law. Lord Selborne says that, as the decision of the Court of Session may come before him in his judicial capacity, on appeal taken to the House of Lords, and as it has not yet been officially brought under his notice, he is unable to pronounce opinion as to its effects. That, of course, is a proper judicial attitude of mind. But the Scottish people must be excused if they allow their cognizance of the plain facts and their consequences to outrun the legal or

judicial consciousness of the Lord Chancellor. However the situation may be technically defined, there can be no doubt that a real conflict of jurisdiction has taken place between the superior courts of the two countries—that the execution of the decree pronounced by the one, implies a direct infringement of the orders of the other. The Lord Chancellor states that so far as concerns the proceedings in the English Courts that have come before him, no antagonism has emerged, seeing that no antecedent or conflicting action taken in the Courts of Scotland was alleged. No such action was taken, because it was not needed. Confirmation in Scotland carries with it powers to trustees of attaching and administering an estate which can only be obtained by process in court in England; in this and in other ways Scottish procedure is simpler, more expeditious, and less expensive than that of the southern part of the kingdom. It would be hard on Scotsmen if what they regard as the peculiar merits of their system were found to expose them to encroachment, and even to deprive them of the privilege of protesting that they were being encroached upon. The meaning of the English decisions appears to be that every Scottish estate is liable to be thrown into Chancery where it can be shown that any single trustee, beneficiary, or fractional part of the property is amenable to English law. That, of course, is directly in the teeth both of treaty rights, international law, and common sense. The conflict can only be settled in one way—by legislation making clear beyond cavil the right of residents in Scotland to defend themselves, and to have their property administered in their own courts. But it is felt also that such a conflict could scarcely have arisen, had there been due provision for the recognition and protection of our distinctive institutions in the existence of a separate Department of State, and that such a department will be a guarantee against future ignorance and invasion from the same quarter.

Another function of a Scottish Minister, the importance of which it would not be easy to exaggerate, is that of pressing the just claims of Scotland on the notice of the Treasury. Like Parliament, the Treasury is besieged by suitors and blocked by petitions; and it often happens that favours go not to the most

deserving but to the most importunate. Here again Scotland has had occasion to regret the want of some one with knowledge and authority to impress her rights and requirements on the guardians of the public purse. In the apportionment of Parliamentary grants in respect to roads, medical relief, and other matters, there has frequently been reason for complaint that Scotland has not been fairly treated as compared with England and Ireland. She has had rather scurvy usage, also, in the matter of the aid afforded from the Exchequer towards great national objects like University buildings, harbours of refuge, museums and the like. She has suffered in another way from the want of an organised department, for the inadequate sums set down in the estimates for such purposes as have been alluded to, have repeatedly been left unappropriated, and have been carried over to the next year, on account of the inability of the various Boards concerned to come to an agreement as to the disposal of the money. It is notorious that in regard to almost all branches of Civil Service expenditure, Scotland is starved while Ireland is fed full. A parliamentary return obtained at the instance of Mr. Craig Sellar, appears opportunely to bear convincing evidence upon the point. Scotland it is shown, contributed to the total revenue of the country in 1882-3 in round numbers the sum of £9,100,000, and Ireland £8,100,000; Scotland received back, in all branches of public expenditure, £2,600,000 and Ireland £7,000,000. These figures speak for themselves; and they certainly do not tell that the principle on which public outlay is regulated, is that of 'payment by results,' or that it takes any account of the relative taxation, industrial importance, or even population of the two countries. Good conduct would appear, indeed, to have a regulating influence, in the distribution of imperial favours; but it is the well-behaved and loyal who are punished, and the disaffected and troublesome who are rewarded. Scotland is thankful that her social and political circumstances are not such as to render it necessary, for the preservation of law and order, that large sums should be contributed annually from the imperial funds for constabulary and military forces. On the other hand, she cannot see why, on the ground either of their requirements or of the work they perform, her Law Courts, her Universities, and her

other institutions, should not have as generous treatment as those of Ireland; still less why Irish public buildings should have seven times as much spent on them every year by the State as the sum spent on public buildings in Scotland. Doubtless, economy in the public expenditure is made well-nigh impossible by the constant and severe pressure to which the Treasury is subjected; but in justice to the Treasury itself—as a means and an inducement to firmness in resisting extravagance, and in fairly weighing contending demands,—it is necessary that the pressure should be equally applied all round; and to meet this necessity the creation of a Scottish Department would be the first step.

In the estimation of many, a Scottish Minister would find his chief field of beneficent activity not at Westminster, but in Scotland itself—in the sphere of administration rather than of legislation; and it may be presumed that it is mainly on this matter of the administrative functions and authority of the new department and its head that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have invited the expression of Scottish views on points of detail. The truth is that the two subjects are almost inextricably connected together. Before any administrative machinery devised for the new Department can perform its duties to the best purpose, large legislative reforms are needed in the structure and capacities of the branches of local government which it will have to control; before legislation can proceed with expedition and efficiency, the Parliamentary machine must be relieved of a portion of the work that clogs its action. Whatever may be effected by 'devolution' to Grand Committees, or by further revision of the rules of procedure, it is becoming yearly more abundantly plain that for a large part of the relief we must look in the direction of decentralisation. Parliament and the apparatus of government centred in Westminster under its direct control, undertake a mass of administrative work with which they are becoming more and more unfitted to cope. The difficulties of getting business done will only become more accentuated if the Premier's suggestion is carried out, of granting a measure of justice to Scotland in the matter of her Parliamentary representation, by augmenting the membership of the House of Commons—that is to say, increasing its cumbersome bulk and its talking power—instead of by reducing the representa-

tion of Ireland in proportion to population or taxation. The development of local government, on a broad and sound basis, is one of the most urgent practical needs of our political system; the circumstances of Scotland are such as eminently fit her for being made the first subject of experiment; and the Department for separate Scottish affairs should be organised with a view to being made the groundwork and instrument of future reforms.

The Local Government Board (Scotland) Bill of last year afforded to a certain extent such a ground-work. The Government plan was, however, wanting both in breadth of base and in elevation; and though satisfactory as an evidence of the desire to meet Scottish wants, its rejection by the House of Lords was, in the circumstances, not perhaps an unmixed evil. Public opinion has made notable progress on the subject since then; and it may be anticipated that the scheme which is to be submitted during the present Session will show corresponding traces of development, and that when it goes to the Upper House it will not again meet with summary dismissal. The carrying out of such a scheme presupposes wide alterations on the present arrangements and the raising of many difficult and delicate questions. It means a large transference of power, and patronage; and these are things which no one parts with willingly. It implies, also, decisions on questions of official precedence and organisation, and of personal fitness, concerning which full knowledge only exists with the Government, and full freedom of action does not exist even there. Suggestions from the outside as to 'details,' therefore, cannot usefully go beyond a certain point.

It may be laid down, as a sound general rule, that a Scottish Department should have cognizance and direction of all distinctively Scottish affairs which at present come within the sphere of action of the Home and other Departments in London. It goes without saying that it would have no concern with the military and naval services, with the collection of the revenue, or with other matters of general imperial interest, further, of course, than what useful aid it could afford in information and consultation. But within the sphere of what may be regarded as 'distinctively Scottish affairs,' some difficult questions have to be faced, on which the opinion of Scotland should have weight with the Government.

The exercise of the Crown prerogative of mercy in the case of Scottish criminals, is one which, it is pointed out, should be left in the hands of the Home Secretary; and the plea is one which has wisdom as well as common sense to support it. There are a few other matters, as to which a strong case may be made out for not disturbing present arrangements, such as inspection under the Factory and Alkali Acts. In these cases, it is argued that as the laws in question relate equally to England and Scotland, as their industrial conditions closely correspond, and as Scotland does not, of itself, afford a wide enough field of choice, an efficient and uniform system of inspection and supervision under these and perhaps one or two other Acts, is best secured by retaining one control for the two countries. Scotsmen are ready to admit that practical efficiency is the great aim to be sought, and that though, as an almost universal rule, it is best secured by local management, there may be exceptions.

A matter of much higher importance is that of Education. Scotland is justly proud of her systems both of elementary and University education. They have features broadly distinguishing them in conception and origin, in organisation, and in methods of management from the systems prevailing south of the Border. Education plays a much more important part in the national life, and holds a higher place in national esteem than in England. Scotsmen earnestly desire to preserve these peculiar excellences, to improve still further their primary and higher education, along the same lines, and to link them together by a system of secondary and technical instruction. They believe that there is no subject, with the exception perhaps of their ecclesiastical affairs, in which outsiders are liable to err more ludicrously and mischievously than in regard to education. There would be no question probably whether the powers exercised in Scotland by the President of the Council and the Scotch Education Department in London, ought not to be transferred bodily to the new Scottish Department, but for the proposal that has for some years been under the consideration of Government and the country of organising a separate Department for Education, with a Minister at its head. Mr. Forster, among others, has urged that such a Minister should have within the scope of his office, the educa-

tional systems of both countries. To this, as far as it implies the withdrawal of control over their own educational affairs, and the risk of levelling down to what may be called foreign and lower standards, Scotsmen must strenuously object. Whatever may be the formal and consultative connection preserved with an Education Department in London, the acting arm and directing head in Scottish educational matters ought to reside in the Department of Scottish affairs. A system of Scottish local government, with the part of education left out, would be something like the play of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark.

Under the present eccentric arrangements for the division of governmental labour, the Lord President of the Council, besides looking after the interests of education, science, and art, has the administration of the laws relating to the prevention and extinction of cattle diseases. These duties, so far as Scotland is concerned, would be best discharged by a Scottish Minister. The very object aimed at is defeated by the delay necessary in referring for direction to the Privy Council in London, before taking measures for the seclusion or stamping out of disease. Full account must also be taken of the peculiarities of climate, and of methods and conditions of agriculture in Scotland, and of the different organisation of rural and urban authorities. While there should be arrangements for co-operation and joint action between the Privy Council in England, or any future Department of Commerce and Agriculture, and the Department of Scottish Affairs, especially in the matter of the importation of disease from abroad, the latter ought to have placed in its hands large independent powers for ordering prompt and effectual action for the protection of our cattle and sheep stocks, and for compelling local authorities to fulfil their duties.

Apart altogether, however, from the matters in which there may be some claim to rival jurisdiction on the part of other Departments, there is a wide field within which a Minister for Scotland could only be responsible to Parliament and to the people of Scotland. Poor Law, Public Health, Lunacy, General and Burgh Police, Prisons, Fisheries, Roads and Bridges, Markets, Mines, Rivers Pollution, Public Parks, Registration, Burial Grounds, Judicial and Local Taxation Statistics, are a

few out of the host of matters in regard to which he would have undivided supervision. At present there is no effective control whatever exercised, the head of the Home and other Departments before which such matters come, merely receiving the reports, and giving their sanction, as a matter of form, to the recommendations of the Board of Supervision, and other managing boards in Scotland; or else there is a control which often, from want of time and of facilities for inquiry, does not proceed upon a thorough knowledge of the circumstances. Under a properly equipped Scottish Department, control would be real, and according to knowledge. The different boards of management would have their duties more clearly defined, their defects of organisation remedied, and their functions co-ordinated and subordinated to that of one directing authority. In the case of the Fishery Board, where reconstruction has been to a certain extent carried out and additional powers granted, important results are already being obtained in the encouragement of the scientific prosecution and protection of a valuable Scottish industry. Local authorities would know where to go with their applications; they would not have to go so far nor to wait so long. A Scottish Department should have headquarters in Scotland as well as its office at Westminster. There would be no lack of work; we might expect also no lack of fruits.

The future relation of the Scottish Law Officers to the Minister for Scotland is a matter that may require some tact and delicacy in its handling; but it is one in which good sense and sound judgment will point out a settlement. The department of 'law and justice' was excluded from the scope of the Bill of last Session, and the office of the Lord Advocate left connected with the Home Office. What might have been a proper arrangement in the organisation of a Local Government Board would of course not be satisfactory under the larger scheme now contemplated. The position of Lord Advocate need not suffer in importance, it would on the contrary gain in usefulness, by being attached to a Scottish Department instead of to the Department of Home affairs. The Lord Advocate would be the legal adviser in administrative difficulties and in the promotion of legislation; in the matters which have hitherto come especially under his care and cognisance he would naturally retain the executive and consultative powers

which have been attached to the office; but naturally also, the appointment of a Minister charged with the direction of all "distinctively Scottish affairs" would carry with it a rearrangement of primary responsibility in the sphere of legal and judicial as well as other affairs.

Something ought to be said of the powers at present committed to the Home Secretary and Privy Council—powers which would in future be exercised by the Minister for Scotland—of issuing Provisional Orders for the carrying out of schemes of local improvement or the protection of public health and interests. These powers are intimately connected with a subject which has recently received a great amount of attention—that of Private Bill legislation, and have an obviously important bearing on the future course of local government reform. As the law at present stands the Privy Council may, under the Lindsay Act, order a visitation and inquiry in cases where an abnormally high rate of mortality is reported in burghs and can issue a Provisional Order authorising the acquiring of property and the carrying out of schemes of improvement. County Committees under the Cattle Plague Act of 1878 may proceed by application for Provisional Order as to the purchase of landing wharves for imported cattle; Local Authorities, as to the fixing of the boundaries and the demolition of buildings within 'unhealthy areas,' under the Artizans Dwellings Act, and as to the buying of lands for public recreation under the Public Parks Act; Parochial Boards, under the Public Health Act, for the introduction of water and the drainage schemes; Town Councils and Police Commissions, for various rearrangements and developments of municipal administration; Road Trustees in disputes with rival authorities, under the Roads and Bridges Act; and School Boards, for the proper carrying out of their duties under the Education Acts. The authority is vested in some of these instances in the Privy Council, and in others in the Home Secretary, and the procedure and method of inquiry vary, and the degree of intelligent knowledge exercised in London in granting or refusing the applications is more or less incom-

plete in each. In all cases, of course, the Provisional Orders require the confirmation of Parliament before becoming law.

It is pretty generally acknowledged that under improved and coherent arrangement, the Provisional Order system might be developed with great advantage to the public. Much that is at present sought to be obtained by private, and even public Bills, might by some such means be had at much smaller cost, and with better guarantee of full local inquiry into the circumstances. Bitter complaints are made by public men and public bodies in Scotland of the serious hardships attending the present system of private Bill legislation; of the expense and delay of sending deputations and witnesses to Westminster, to wait for the movement of the Parliamentary waters; of hiring the services of high feed Parliamentary counsel; of appearing successively before the Committees of the two Houses; and of the absence of security that either tribunal will be so constituted as to give a sound decision on the facts. Thousands of pounds are misspent annually in this way, in the carrying through of private Bills from Scotland; and still greater loss perhaps is suffered by the deterrent effects which the extravagant cost of promotion has on the prosecution of small schemes of public enterprise.

The organisation of a special Scottish Department would remove some of the defects attaching to the present system of Provisional Orders. But a more radical change of system is required before the method of local inquiry could be made of general application to purposes now generally sought by means of private bills. The proposal of Mr. Craig Sellar, for the establishment of tribunals, in which the judicial and the practical engineering element should be represented, for the examining and hearing of evidence, and recommendation to Parliament of these measures is one that has met with very general acceptance in Scotland. Such a tribunal for Scotland would at once ease the pressure of Parliamentary work, and secure a saving of time and money, and increased efficiency, without sacrificing the important principle of ultimate parliamentary responsibility. It would manifestly hold close relation and communication with a Scottish Department, thus deriving and contributing important aid in the work of transacting the business of Scotland within her

own boundaries, and constituting another step in the formation of a great fabric of local government, of which the proposed Department would be the foundation course.

It is not expected that such a fabric would rise up as at the rub of a magician's lamp; like other things of lasting value, it will be a work of toil and of time. But we should expect the groundwork to be laid with reference to the superstructure—to be capable of adaptation to future needs and developments. The materials and appliances of local government are scattered about in all directions. In the case of burghal administration they are in almost superfluous abundance and variety; what they most need perhaps is simplification. In the case of the counties, on the other hand, many of the essentials of genuine local self-government are wanting, and must by and by be supplied.

With a definite centre round which to arrange itself, a coherent and harmonious system of Scottish local government would begin to evolve itself out of the present chaos. The expeditious and orderly transaction of their business, though the most immediate, would be by no means the most precious, benefit which the Scottish people would expect from the redress of their grievances. The Lord Provost of Edinburgh interpreted their mind aright when, on a recent occasion, he told the Premier that they regard decentralisation as one of the 'needs of our time'; that, where there is a common bond of loyalty and patriotism, the existence of smaller centres of interest, influence, and action, corresponding with differences of natural character, habits, and institutions, gives not only variety and vigour to civil life, but strength to the Empire at large. This was at once warmly and eagerly recognised by Mr. Gladstone. He is himself 'half a Scot,' and the representative of a Scottish constituency. No one more clearly appreciates the practical and pressing evils arising from over-centralisation, or knows better how safely Scotland may be trusted with the management of her own distinctive affairs; and in this matter, he has told us, he speaks for his colleagues as well as for himself. From English public opinion, also, strong backing may be expected, as soon as the facts and the nature of the Scottish case are known. They have not concealed in them so much as the shadow of a desire for

separation ; they look rather to the knitting more closely together of the bonds of sympathy and real union between the different parts of the United Kingdom. England would benefit as well as Scotland from the relief of the labouring wheels of administration and legislation from part of their burden ; Ireland, also, would have an opportunity of reading, in the response which the Government is about to make to the moderate, practical demands of Scotland, and in the spirit in which Parliament receives it, a lesson of the reward that may be had when national desires are sought in a loyal and temperate spirit, and by arguments of reason.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Biblical Theology of the New Testament. By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated Vol. I. by the Rev. D. EATON, M.A.; Vol. II. by the Rev. J. E. DUGUID. Two Volumes. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1882-3.

In Great Britain, Biblical Theology, whether of the Old or New Testament, cannot be said to have been a favourite branch of theological study. After several attempts we have failed to recall a single work written on the subject in English on either side of the Tweed. In Germany, on the other hand, the history of its study may almost be said to go back as far as the end of the seventeenth century. Gabler, however, was the first to sketch out the true conception of the science, and since his day it has been successfully cultivated by writers like von Cölln, De Wette, Baumgarten-Crusius, C. F. Schmid, Rückert, Neander, Messner, Pfeiderer, and Reuss. The progress it has made is little short of remarkable. A comparison of Reuss's *Théologie Chrétienne au Siècle Apostolique* or of the work now before us with von Cölln's second volume or with Schmid's work on the theology of the New Testament, will show that the idea that Theology is an unprogressive science is false. As is usual in this class of works Dr. Weiss first discusses the idea of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament, and defines it as the scientific representation of the religious ideas and doctrines which the New Testament contains. It assumes, he observes, that the specific historical significance and the normative character of the writings which are united in the New Testament have been proved by New Testament introduction and by dogmatics, and has for its aim to represent the individually and historically conditioned manifoldness of New Testament forms of teaching, the unity of which lies in the historical saving facts of the revelation of God in Christ Jesus. Biblical Theology is in the main therefore a purely historical science, and groups its doctrines around their various authors. Accordingly the arrangement which Dr. Weiss has adopted is the historical. First we have the teaching of Jesus according to the earliest tradition, which, as readers of Dr. Weiss's *Life of Christ* are aware, the author finds imbedded in the synoptic gospels. Next we have the apostolic doctrine anterior to the time of Paul as exhibited in the Acts of the Apostles, the first Epistle of Peter, and the Epistle of James. Then following the lines of development we have the doctrines of Paul, first as contained in his discourse at Athens and the Epistles to the Thessalonians; then as exhibited in his four great controversial Epistles; next as represented by the so-called Epistles of the imprisonment; and lastly, as con-

tained in the Pastoral Epistles. Following the presentation of the Pauline doctrines we have the early apostolic doctrinal system as modified by the influence of the Apostle to the Gentiles, and as exhibited in the Epistle to the Hebrews, 2 Peter, Jude, the Johannean Apocalypse, and the Historical Books. Lastly we have the Johannean theology as exhibited in the fourth Gospel and in the three Epistles of John. Under each of these great divisions Dr. Weiss discusses or rather sets forth with no inconsiderable skill the various doctrines. His division and arrangement of his subject leave little to be desired. Each doctrine is in its right position, and is unfolded with great minuteness and with constant reference both to the words of Scripture and to the opinions of other writers on the same subject. Dr. Weiss's treatment of his subject is masterly. The reader may be disposed to differ from him in a variety of particulars, as we are ourselves; as for instance his statement of St. Paul's idea of Election seems to us to be incomplete, and his arrangement of the representation of the Johannean theology unsatisfactory. Yet there can be no two opinions as to the ability and thoroughness of his work. To say that the two volumes before us are scholarly is small praise. They form the most complete work on the subject which has yet appeared in English, and so far as we are aware in French or German. We commend it very heartily. For a thorough knowledge of biblical dogmatics and systematic theology, and for a just appreciation of the symbols of the Church, its careful study is indispensable. Preachers will find it, we will venture to say, incomparably more suggestive and in a variety of ways much more helpful than the majority of the commentaries which have recently been written on the writings whose doctrines it sets forth.

Characteristics of Christianity. By STANLEY LEATHES, D.D.
London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1884.

For some time it has been the fashion among a certain school of writers to class Christianity along with the religions of the world and to place it on the same level with them. The almost inevitable consequence has been that while its points of similarity with these religions have been noted and emphasized, its points of difference have been for the most part ignored or overlooked. Against this Professor Stanley Leathes here enters a vigorous protest, and with a bold and skilful hand points out the various characteristics which serve to differentiate Christianity from the principal religions of heathendom and to make it superior to them. This he has done in the six lectures which form the main part of his present volume, treating in them of Christianity as the subject of preparation, as the product of historical forces, as a book-religion, as identified with the person of our Lord, as preserved by a spirit, and as the hope and refuge of mankind. The lectures are all marked by the author's characteristic vigour of thought and sound theological learning; but the two to which we feel more especially drawn are those in which he deals with the self-regulating and self-renewing element of Christianity, and its adaptation to the deepest needs

of mankind. To the lectures he has prefixed a long and interesting and able preface, which is mainly devoted to showing that the belief in our Lord's resurrection rests upon testimony sufficient to satisfy those who are willing to believe if proof be offered that life is essentially stronger than death, and is mainly directed against such writers as M. Renan and the author of *Ecce Homo*, and against Mr. Macan's *Essay on the Resurrection*. A number of valuable notes and illustrations are given at the end of the volume. Altogether, Professor Stanley Leathe's volume is one of the few notable books which have appeared of late years in the department of Apologetics; and we strongly recommend it to those who are desirous of obtaining a clear conception of what Christianity really is, and of seeing how it is differentiated from the other book-religions.

The Parables of our Lord; A methodical Exposition. By SIEGFRIED GOEBEL. Translated by Professor BANKS. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1883.

The literature to which our Lord's parables have given rise, is now large; many will say that it is too large, and that a number of the volumes which profess to interpret the parables are for the purposes of study little better than useless. The student who will take the trouble to read the volume before us will not be disposed to include this in his condemnation. On the contrary, we believe that the more attentively he reads it, he will find an increasing number of exceedingly cogent reasons for regarding it as a remarkably valuable contribution, to a section of evangelical studies, whose themes are always fresh and attractive. In Germany it has already won a very honourable position. Dr. Weiss has commended it for its 'solid exegesis, sound judgment, and sober, skilful interpretation'; and to this commendation it is thoroughly entitled. It deserves to be commended, too, for the simplicity of its arrangement and for its singular suggestiveness, and as well, for its accurate scholarship. The author is evidently in possession of a fresh, vigorous, and independent mind, and we have as the result of his labours, a work which we can commend as an excellent example of what an exegetical work should be, and as in most, if not in all respects, the best and most successful attempt to interpret the parables of our Lord which, as yet, exists in our language. The translation we need hardly say is well done.

The Atonement: A Clerical Symposium on 'What is the Scripture Doctrine of the Atonement?' By Various Writers. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1883.

The chief merit of a volume like this is that it contains within comparatively few pages the opinions of a great variety of writers belonging to different schools of theology on one of the principal doctrines of the Christian faith. Dr. Littledale opens the discussion with a scholarly paper,

in which he points out the difficulties which those who attempt to formulate a theory of the atonement have to contend with ; and is followed, among others, by Mr. Mackennal, Mr. Page Hopps, Archdeacon Farrar, Mr. Edward White, Principal Rainy, Dr. Olver, Professor C. Chapman, Professor Israel Abraham, the Bishop of Amycla, Dr. P. Gloag, the bare enumeration of whose names is sufficient to indicate the variety of opinions which the volume contains. Perhaps the most scholarly paper is Archdeacon Farrar's. One or two of the papers may be said to be more remarkable for their strength of assertion than for their argumentative power or clearness or depth of insight. We have no intention, however, of acting as an unbidden guest at the Symposium. The chief merit of the volume, as we have said, is its variety ; and this alone is sufficient to entitle it to a place in every theological library.

Introductory Hints to English Readers of the Old Testament. By the Rev. JOHN A. CROSS, M.A. London : Longmans, Green, & Co. 1882.

By that large and increasing class of readers to whom the Old Testament is ceasing to be an intelligible book, Mr. Cross's volume will, or ought to be, found exceedingly useful. First he gives a brief history of the people of Israel ; next he describes the composition or compilation of the historical books of the Old Testament ; afterwards he deals with the prophetic and remaining books of the Hebrew Scriptures ; and concludes with a section on the formation of the Canon. In fact the reader has here all the best results of modern criticism and historical research in connection with the Old Testament in a condensed shape, and stated in clear and vigorous English. Mr. Cross makes no rash statements, but writes temperately and with the wisdom which comes of wide reading, accurate scholarship, and devout reverence for the sacred volume. Any one who will take the trouble to master his volume will return to the Old Testament and find its pages more instructive and interesting than he ever supposed them to be.

The Gospel in Paris : Sermons by the Rev. E. Bersier, D.D. With Personal Sketch of the Author by the Rev. F. HASTINGS. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1883.

Glimpses Through the Veil, or Some Natural Analogies and Bible Types. By the Rev. JAS. WAREING BARDSLEY, M.A. London : J. Nisbet & Co. 1883.

Progressive Religion : Sermons and Selections from the Manuscripts of William Bathgate, D.D. Glasgow : J. Maclehose & Sons. 1884.

In *The Gospel in Paris* we have a translation of the first and second volume of M. Bersier's sermons. Mr. Hastings has done good service in

thus introducing some of the best of the great Parisian preacher's sermons to English readers. Here and there we notice one or two slips, as, for instance, on page 145, 'Suivant la parole de l' épitre aux Hebreux' is rendered by 'according to the apostle.' Of course M. Bersier may believe that St. Paul or some other apostle was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; but he does not here say so, and it is better to translate what he does say. And again, on page 147, *doit* is twice Englished by 'must,' whereas a better rendering, and one certainly expressing M. Bersier's thought, would have been 'ought.' These, however, are small faults. The task of translating M. Bersier's sermons is not an easy one, and if in the process of translation they have here lost somewhat of their original force and brilliancy, it was almost to be expected. Mr. Hastings has succeeded in putting them into tolerably good English, and in so doing has accomplished no mean feat. As for the sermons themselves, they are masterpieces of pulpit eloquence, full of evangelical truth, keen reasoning, and heart-searching appeals. The English language can show many noble sermons, but few that surpass these. They were worth translating, and are worth reading. No one can take them up without being carried away by the preacher's eloquence, or without being incited to a nobler faith. In a brief introductory chapter Mr. Hastings has given a graphic sketch of the author of the sermons.

In *Glimpses through the Veil* Mr. Bardsley assumes that Nature is a veil by which the spiritual and eternal is partly concealed and partly revealed. With a large knowledge of Scripture and a scarcely inferior knowledge of some branches of the teaching of science, he takes the words of Psalmists, Prophets, and Apostles, and shows how the facts and discoveries in several departments of the material world lend themselves to their illustration and enforcement. His 'types and analogies' are by no means far-fetched or imaginary. Not a few of them are both striking and surprising; and so close and obvious are they when pointed out, that the reader often wonders why he has not observed them before. The lessons which Mr. Bardsley draws are pointed and practical. He writes with ease and precision, and though the line he has adopted is one where the temptation to be fanciful is extremely great, he never falls into it. Altogether, his sermons are simple and beautiful, and such as any one may read with interest and profit.

To the selections from the MSS. which she has published under the not inappropriate title *Progressive Religion*, Mrs. Bathgate has prefixed a temperately written and indeed very beautiful, though brief, memoir of her late husband's career. Not the least interesting part of the memoir is the graphic account she gives of his earnestness and genuine zeal to spread the gospel and make theology a more rational and practical thing. Among the letters printed is a correspondence between Dr. Bathgate and Thomas Carlyle, which, brief as it is, not a few readers will be glad to see. The sermons do not seem to have been intended, or at least to have been

prepared, by their author for publication. Most of them are short, and many of them seem to be little more than expanded notes. Still they are not unworthy of being printed. That which is most characteristic about them is the pure and elevated and genuinely Christian spirit by which they are pervaded. Though a theologian of very pronounced and definite view, Dr. Bathgate never loses sight of the practical side of Christianity. The morality he teaches is unselfish and noble ; and no one can read the selections which are here printed without feeling that he has been in contact with a refined and beautiful nature, full of zeal for the gospel, and inspired by its spirit.

History of the Canon of the Holy Scriptures in the Christian Church. By EDWARD REUSS. Translated by DAVID HUNTER, B.D. Edinburgh : Jas. Gemmell. 1884.

This is one of those books which suggest in a very forcible and often in a very painful way the contrast which exists between the condition of theological studies amongst ourselves and amongst our neighbours on the Continent. We have no intention of drawing the contrast. Students who are acquainted with the theological literature of Germany or of France do not need to be reminded of it ; while those whose studies have hitherto been confined to English or American theology will be able from the volume before us to form a pretty clear conception as to what the difference is. Mr. Hunter is to be congratulated both on the selection he has made of a work on which to try his hand as a translator and on the way he has executed his task. His translation, which has evidently been done *con amore*, is at once idiomatic and exact, and were it not for the title page and author's preface, and several brief and in the main useful notes he has subscribed, few who were not otherwise informed would suspect that they were not reading in his pages an original work. As for the work itself, which must not be confounded with M. Reuss's fuller and more elaborate *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*, which is here frequently referred to, it is an extremely valuable contribution to biblical literature, and a masterpiece of luminous exposition. Less elaborate than the *Geschichte*, it is also more popular. At the same time it is wonderfully full and scholarly, and nothing can exceed the skill with which the author marshals his facts and makes them bear upon his argument. The title of his volume is itself a proof that the ordinary notion that the Canon of the New Testament was definitely settled at the end of the first century and by apostolic authority is false. M. Reuss proves by irrefragable arguments and indisputable facts that anything like a universally-accepted Canon did not exist for centuries, and that no really serious efforts were made to come to an understanding on a subject so fundamental till during the second half of the fourth century. We cannot here, of course, reproduce his facts and arguments. Nor can we give the reader anything like an adequate idea of the valuable and interesting information which his

volume contains. To do so, we should require to transfer its contents to our pages. We can only add that the book is written for the popular mind, and that, learned and scholarly as it is, there is not a single page or sentence in it which any reader of ordinary ability cannot understand, and that no one can read either the original or Mr. Hunter's admirable version without profit, or fail to regard the work, both from a literary and from a theological point of view, as one of the greatest value.

An Essay on Assyriology. By GEORGE EVANS, M.A. London : Williams & Norgate. 1883.

The Hebrew Language viewed in the light of Assyrian Research. By Dr. FREDERIC DELITZSCH. London : Williams & Norgate. 1883.

These two works, of independent origin, are intended to serve much the same purpose, viz., to illustrate, by a few striking examples, the new light which is being shed on the Hebrew Scriptures, by the study of the Assyrian language. Until lately, it was thought that the safest, if not the sole, quarter from which light could be found to illumine the obscurities of the Sacred Text was Arabia. Arabic was always invoked to explain or furnish the root of, or an analogy to, any doubtful word or perplexing construction, and though the light thus shed on the text did not much, if at all, relieve its darkness, the interpretation thus furnished was adopted as assuredly the correct one. The decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions, found in such numbers of late years in the sand-buried ruins of Assyria's great cities, has proved that their inhabitants were Semites, and that their language was an older form of that same tongue which was spoken by the Israelitic tribes. It is to Assyrian, therefore, that scholars are now beginning to look for that help in the interpretation of the Bible, for which they have been so long looking in vain from other quarters. These two little volumes are intended to prove that scholars are right in this. They show by giving a few instances as examples, that Assyrian furnishes the key to much that has hitherto been dark or obscure in the geography, ethnology, zoology, botany, &c., of the Scriptures. The first work on our list is a first contribution on the subject by one who has received a fellowship from the Hibbert Trustees, and is published at their request and by them. It is not only a praiseworthy testimony to the wisdom of their previous award, but gives promise of being followed by larger and more valuable works in this department of study from this young, well grounded, and painstaking student. The other work is from the pen of the well known Professor of Assyriology at Leipzig. He is about to publish an Assyrian Lexicon and a Hebrew Lexicon, and this little volume—a collection of papers (recast and enlarged) that appeared last summer in the *Athenæum*—is intended partly as a justification for issuing the latter, and partly to prepare the public generally for the

changes to be made in the meaning of many passages of the Sacred Text. Both works are extremely interesting, and the reader happily does not require to be an Assyrian scholar to understand or to appreciate them. The clear sense which the new renderings give, is the best proof of their correctness.

The Story of the University of Edinburgh during its First Three Hundred Years. By Sir ALEX. GRANT, Bart., LL.D., D.C.L., etc., etc. Two volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1884.

Sir Alexander Grant has here told the story of the origin and development of the University, over which he has the honour to preside, and of which he is himself a chief ornament with all that grace of style of which he is so accomplished a master. The book was undertaken, we are told, to do honour to the University on arriving at its tercentenary, and a more handsome or appropriate birth-day gift could scarcely be presented to it. A good history of the University was greatly needed. The histories already in existence, though good enough in their way, are valuable only as a record of facts, or as *mémoires pour servir*. In none of them can it be said that the history of the University has been really written. Crawford's, published in 1808, is simply a set of annals. Everything is told in the freshest, quaintest, most graphic style, but no continuous narrative is given. The author does not, as Sir Alexander Grant observes, 'pretend to be an historian,' and his honest anxiety to represent the 'Town's College' as a full-blown University occasionally vitiates to some extent the accuracy of what he records. Professor Dalzel's *History* is a somewhat more ambitious attempt. Had he lived to complete it, he might have used the materials it contains with greater effect. As it stands, however, even after having the advantage of being edited and published by David Laing, it is little more than a somewhat dry compilation, without continuity, and on certain points in need of correction. Bower's *History* is chiefly biographical, and on that account not without considerable value, but as regards the origin and early history of the University it is thoroughly untrustworthy. In the third volume, where the author writes with the fear of his masters—the Town Council—before his eyes, it is discreetly silent.

The aim of the volumes before us is to show by what steps the University has arrived at its present position; and the method which the author has adopted is to treat the College, growing into the University, of Edinburgh, as an organism in respect of its constitution, its staff, and its educational equipment, and to trace the development of that organism from age to age, without mention of persons, except so far as their actions contributed to the progress of the story. As a preliminary to this, and in order to exhibit the historical circumstances and the academical ideas which ushered in the University, Sir Alexander Grant has devoted a couple of chapters to tracing the character and fortunes of the earlier Universities, and to an examination

of the way in which the Reformers dealt with them on coming into possession. In the first of these chapters the history of the old foundations is told in a pleasant, graphic way, and here and there with a touch of genial humour. Though Bishop Wardlaw granted to St. Andrews a deed of constitution, the University actually existed before the deed. The Bishop simply confirmed what was already existing, and granted those privileges, without which, as Bulaeus says, a University is like a body without a soul. This Charter is of some importance as showing what was understood in the fifteenth century by the term founding a University. It was, as Sir Alex. Grant has remarked, not merely establishing a school with various branches of teaching. It was nothing short of 'setting up a little State within a State.' Wardlaw's charter, which received the sanction of the Scottish Parliament, freed the members of the University from all exaction of custom, made them subject in all civil causes to their own Rector alone, allowed beneficed clergy studying or teaching in the University to be absent from their benefices and at the same time to retain their stipends, gave to all connected with the University free liberty of making wills, and exempted them from all tributes, gifts, exactions, vexations, capitations, burdens of services, either of person or property. In order, however, to raise the new institution to the full *status* of a University and enable it to take rank among the other Universities of Christendom, one thing more was requisite—the sanction of the Pope. This also was obtained for it by Wardlaw from Benedict XIII., who about a year after the date of Wardlaw's foundation (1411) signed no fewer than six Bulls ratifying in the most formal manner, all the privileges which Wardlaw had conceded. One point noticeable in these Bulls is the strict system of examination for degrees which they prescribe. Another is the privilege which the degree conferred. The degree as Sir Alexander Grant observes, was not a mere distinction to be obtained by a youth, but a license to teach, not to be lightly conceded, but only awarded after full scrutiny, conducted in the most solemn way, by the highest authorities. Two things Wardlaw did not provide for his institution, stipends for the teachers, and buildings or apartments in which they might teach. These however, soon came, and by the middle of the following century there were in the University of St. Andrews three endowed colleges,—St. Salvator, St. Leonards, and the College of the Assumption,—all of which were, as their statutes show, 'not merely to be homes for scholars and places for University study, but to have a religious and monastic character.' This, as we shall hereafter see, is a point of great importance. The University of Glasgow, younger than that of St. Andrews by some forty years, started with the same privileges, and in the same poverty. After a short struggle for existence, it collapsed. In 1563 it was described as 'rather the decay of ane Universitie nor ony wyse to be reknit ane establish foundationn,' and ten years later the magistrates of the city speak of it as ruinous and its studies and discipline as extinct. King's College, Aberdeen,

was founded by Bishop Elphinston in 1505, though a Bull authorising the institution of a University in that city had been signed by the Pope in 1494, and the king had granted a charter for the same three years later, and authorised an annual grant to be given to it out of the crown lands of £12. 6s. 0d., and for a while especially under its first Principal, the celebrated Hector Boece, the young institution seems to have been in a somewhat flourishing condition. But the complaint from which all the Universities seem to have suffered, was poverty. Speaking of the period of their early history, Sir Alexander Grant justly observes, 'these times were different from the present, when we often see in this country and in America, private liberality, furnishing hundreds of thousands of pounds for the erection or improvement of a University.' The growth of the Universities, he also remarks, was always stunted by the extremely unfavourable circumstances which surrounded them. By the Reformers the old institutions were first 'purged' and then altered. Their original intention seems to have been to convert them into thoroughly effective teaching establishments, but for this and the difficulties they met with, and the results of their labours we must refer our readers to the *Book of Discipline*, and Sir Alexander Grant's second chapter, where the case for the Reformers, whose action in the matter has often been severely criticised, is very fairly put.

Bower's theory that the University of Edinburgh owes its foundation to Reid, Bishop of Orkney, and Queen Mary Sir A. Grant sets aside, and shows that its real promoters and founders were the Town Council and ministers of the city. One point which he distinctly brings out is that the Charter granted to the University by James VI. was not the Charter of its foundation, but was subsidiary to it, the original Charter being lost. How it came to be lost is a mystery. Sir A. Grant suggests that a 'little collusion' between the Crown and the Town Council for its suppression would have been quite in accordance with the spirit of the time, but any grain of fact in the matter is not ascertainable.

That neither this Charter nor that of James VI. founded a University, in the old sense of the phrase, is clearly shown. All that the latter did was to confirm Queen Mary's gift of monastic lands and revenues, to make this applicable to education as well as to other purposes, and to put into the hands of the Town Council large and exclusive power of enacting and regulating establishments of higher education in Edinburgh at their own pleasure, 'with, however, the advice of the ministers.' And that the new institution was not at first a 'University' is fully borne out by its early history and condition. It had none of the privileges of the old Universities. Its teachers were not professors, but simply regents; and though it started with a University standard of instruction in Philosophy, and with the power of conferring the degree of Master of Arts, its internal arrangements were essentially those of a collegiate and domestic institution.

The 'Town's College' was opened probably on the 14th October, 1583,

under two Masters, and with an attendance of some eighty or ninety students. Its first Principal was Rollock, a man of great learning and exemplary piety. Its beginning was unpropitious. During its second session it had to be closed owing to an invasion of the Plague. In the year after its opening, it lost its chief promoter and best friend, James Lawson, one of the ministers of the City, who was banished from Scotland, and soon afterwards died in London. But for the story of its struggles and triumph, we must refer the reader to the pages of the two handsome volumes before us. Every stage in the development of the University is here described with a perspicacity and felicity of style rarely equalled. Conspicuous among the learned author's qualifications as a historian is his perfect impartiality. He holds neither to the University nor to the Town Council in their contentions, but writes in the spirit of the perfectly fair and unprejudiced historian. To many probably the most interesting portions of his work will be the brief but admirable biographical sketches, which are given of the men who have done most to establish the fame of the University. In our own opinion there is not a single uninteresting page in the whole of these two large volumes. While forming a singularly valuable contribution to historical literature, and illustrating the progress of education, they throw no inconsiderable light on the social life of the country during the past three or four hundred years. The value of the volumes, we should add, is greatly enhanced by their numerous illustrations.

The Scourge of Christendom. Annals of British Relations with Algiers prior to the French Conquest. By Lieut-Colonel R. F. PLAYFAIR, H.M. Consul-General at Algiers. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1884.

This book is deeply interesting and deeply humiliating. Here and there it contains fine touches of heroism, but, with the exception of these, from beginning to end it is one of the strangest stories of human cruelty and human weakness ever perused. Anything reflecting more strongly upon our national history or upon the conduct of the governments of Europe during the period to which it relates, it is impossible to conceive. The picture which it presents is that of a small and contemptible State, one of whose rulers frankly confessed to a British Consul: 'The Algerines are a company of rogues, and I am their captain!' defying and actually over-awing the whole power of Christendom, compelling the weaker States to pay tribute and exacting it from the more powerful under the name of presents, and when the arrears remained too long unpaid not hesitating to put the representatives of the most powerful nations of Europe in irons or to blow them away from the guns. In 1798 the whole naval force of this State did not equal two line-of-battle ships; yet its ruler—'this elevated brute,' as Mr. Eaton, then American Consul at Tunis, calls him—had seven Kings

of Europe, two Republics, and a whole continent tributary to him. That such a state of things should have been permitted to exist seems in the present incredible, but the explanation of its existence is more incredible still. For as Colonel Playfair justly remarks, 'The only explanation is that one nation found these corsairs a convenient scourge for others with whom it was at war, and hesitated at no means to increase its own influence with them. Thus the consuls of the various nations, but especially those of England and France, were perpetually scheming to induce the Dey to break peace with the rival nation or to prevent its restoration after war had broken out.'

The Barbary corsairs began to trouble the seas as early as 1390; but the history of Algiers as a piratical State does not begin until the reign of Kheir-ed-din, who succeeded his brother Aroudj in 1518. In 1529 he succeeded in wresting from the Spaniards the Peñon Fort, and at once deprived it of its insular position by joining it to the mainland by means of a causeway, thus forming the harbour or mole which was destined for so many generations to be the 'Scourge of Christendom.' After this the Corsairs set to work in good earnest, and swept the seas of all the ships they could lay hands on, harrying the coast of Italy, Spain, and the Balearic Islands, ruining Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, and carrying their depredations as far north as the coast of England and Ireland. 'They arrogated to themselves the right to wage war on every nation of Europe which did not purchase forbearance by tribute or special treaties, and they absolutely declined to be on friendly terms with more than one or two at a time, so that they might be free to plunder the remainder. They dictated the most humiliating conditions and restrictions in matters concerning the internal affairs of Christian powers, especially with regard to their navigation laws, such as the nature of the passes their vessels were to carry, and the number of foreigners allowed to be on board; and they successfully maintained their right to search all vessels on the high seas'—(page 4.) Fleets were sent against them and treaties were made with them, but as soon as it suited their purpose they violated the treaties more readily than they had entered into them, yet, strange to say, they were treated by all the maritime nations of Europe with a respect and forbearance which the latter rarely manifested towards each other.

In matters of slavery the Algerines were probably no worse than others, except that being more persistent and successful in their quest for them they owned a larger number, and that they continued the trade in Christian slaves after the practice had been condemned by public opinion and the law of nations. 'They were not even always the aggressors,' as Colonel Playfair remarks; 'very frequently, in times of nominal peace, when their vessels were driven by stress of weather to the Christian shores of the Mediterranean, they were treated as outlaws and pirates, and their crews doomed to the galleys, where they were in greater demand than men of any other race'—(page 7.) When the Algerines were at the height of their power the

number of Christian slaves they held was generally from 20,000 to 30,000, 'representing,' as Colonel Playfair observes, 'every nation in Europe and every rank in society, from the Viceroy to the common sailor, men of the highest eminence in the church, literature, science, and arms, delicately nurtured ladies and little children.' Their sufferings were often terrible. Among the greatest sufferers were the consuls, who were not unseldom compelled to atone for the shortcomings of their Governments, both in purse and person.

Colonel Playfair has here confined himself to a narrative of the sufferings of British subjects, and of the doings of the British Government in reference to them, and has written one of the darkest chapters in our national history. A more contemptible policy than that pursued by successive statesmen and Governments towards the Corsairs and such of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland as had the misfortune to fall into their hands, it is difficult to imagine. Colonel Playfair has gathered his material from a wide area, and has told his story well. The extracts which he gives from private letters and unpublished official documents are of great interest. His volume forms an excellent addition to our historical literature, and will amply repay the most careful study.

Memoirs of James Robert Hope-Scott of Abbotsford, D.C.L., Q.C., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford; with Selections from his Correspondence. By ROBERT ORNSBY, M.A., &c., &c. 2 Vols. London: John Murray. 1884.

The least that can be said about this work is that it is a valuable contribution to the history of the past forty or fifty years. Of the men who appear in its pages, most have taken, and some are still taking, a prominent and important part in public affairs, while two or three of them must be reckoned the greatest men of their time, and among the greatest England has produced. Among these are Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Newman. With the latter, Mr. J. R. Hope—afterwards Mr. Hope-Scott—remained on terms of the closest intimacy up to the last hour of his life. With Mr. Gladstone he stood in scarcely so close a relationship. After a few years of very intimate and confidential friendship, their ways parted, but though separated and rarely meeting in subsequent years, their mutual esteem never abated, as is abundantly shown by the very beautiful letter Mr. Gladstone addressed to Mr. Hope-Scott's daughter, the Honourable Mrs. Maxwell Scott, soon after her father's death. Both by Mr. Gladstone and by Cardinal Newman Mr. Hope-Scott was always regarded as a sagacious and safe adviser whose counsel it was always well in critical moments to obtain and follow. The correspondence between Mr. Hope-Scott on the one hand, and Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Newman on the other, which Professor Ornsby has here published, forms one of the most interesting parts of his work, and deserves all the prominence he has given to it.

One of the most curious parts of this correspondence, though by no means the most important, is that between the great political leader struggling in the throes of the election of 1868 and the great parliamentary lawyer holding himself aloof from politics, protesting his distrust of both parties, and refusing the aid solicited. Other parts of this correspondence deal with the publication of Mr. Gladstone's work on the relations of Church and State, the Jerusalem Bishopric question, the Oxford Movement, and other of the more important events of the religious and political life of the period. The light they throw upon them is clear, and in some instances additional. It is curious, we may remark in passing, to observe the distrust with which Bunsen was regarded by Mr. Gladstone, Cardinal Newman, and Mr. Hope-Scott. He was doubtless of a thoroughly sincere and ingenuous nature, but his anxiety to further his pet scheme of a Protestant Bishopric of Jerusalem, and the means he sometimes adopted, seem to have caused three at least of the most acute minds in England to regard his movements with serious suspicions.

As a biography, Professor Ornsby's work can only be regarded as tentative. Probably it is all that can ever be attempted. Mr. Hope-Scott was not in the habit of unfolding his whole mind, or of unbarring, even in his correspondence with his intimate friends, his last or deepest thought. He had large powers, an intellect wonderfully acute, and great facility of expression. Yet over what was deepest and highest in his life he seems to have unconsciously drawn an almost impenetrable veil. Such, we take it, is the way with those who are endowed with a nature at once great and refined. There are exceptions, no doubt; but Mr. Hope-Scott was not only naturally reserved, he was also extremely sensitive, and shrunk from manifesting more of himself than was absolutely requisite, from a sense of delicacy, and that species of self-distrust which originates in a profound and, in some cases, overmastering consciousness of the sacredness and solemn grandeur of human life. And hence, though we have here letters and memoranda in abundance, they leave upon us the same impression as Mr. Hope-Scott's appearance in the Committee-rooms of the Houses of Parliament when engaged in the business of his profession. We do not see the whole man, and are conscious that behind the acute thinking, the ready eloquence, and the calm and quiet exterior there is much that is not expressed. That this interior and hidden life was exceedingly noble, there can be no doubt. His piety, his affection, his boundless charity, the influence he had over others of natures scarcely less noble or commanding than his own, and their unbounded esteem for him, are at once its signs and demonstrations. To this same sensitiveness may also be attributed his seeming want of resolution and frequent change of plans. It may have been due, as Mr. Badeley suggests on one occasion in a very remarkable letter which he addressed to Mr. Hope-Scott, to 'some lurking indisposition to a regular settled course of occupation,' and few were in a better position to form an opinion than Mr. Badeley.

Still we are disposed to attribute it to higher motives. Mr. Hope-Scott, we suspect, had a profound distrust of himself in spiritual matters, and was perpetually haunted by the fear that he was not following the exact line he ought. To this immeasurably higher estimate which he set upon religious things as compared with the world, may also be ascribed his want of ambition, his indifference to worldly success, his seeming nonchalance, and the wide interval that apparently existed between his private and professional life.

As a public man, Mr. Hope-Scott will always be remembered as the greatest of the leaders of the Parliamentary Bar. His sympathy with mediævalism, as well as his religious cast of mind, led him by preference to the Canon law, and his chief professional pleasure was to be engaged in some great ecclesiastical suit. The Parliamentary Bar he seems to have adopted simply with a view to increasing his means, intending to devote to it but a part of his time, and reserving the rest for the Church and its institutions. "Of these two several employments," Mr. Gladstone writes in the letter already referred to, "he said, 'I regard the first as my kitchen garden, but the second as my flower garden.'" And so it was, continues Mr. Gladstone, "that almost without a rival in social attractions, and in the springtide of youth and promise, he laid with a cheerful heart the offering of his life upon the altar of his God." To this side of Mr. Hope-Scott's life Professor Ornsby has devoted less space than many readers will probably expect. Yet he has said, and allowed others to say, quite sufficient to place the image of the great Parliamentary lawyer vividly before our eyes. To those who have heard him in the Committee-rooms, the following will be acceptable for, as far as it goes, its fidelity :—

"To one of an impulsive temperament Mr. Hope-Scott's unconcern and *sang-froid* is perfectly irritating. It is amazing how he remembers minute points and names. From the highest questions of policy down to Mr. Ellis's cow and ladder case, he was "up" in detail, never lost for a word, and not to be astonished at anything. If the House of Commons were on fire, he would ask the Committee simply if he should continue until the fire had reached the room, or adjourn on the arrival of the engines. Whilst he delivers his speech he is keeping up a little cross-fire with the clerks behind, who scratch out the evidences and papers as he requires them. Now he will drink from the water-glass, now take a pinch of snuff, then look at his notes, or make an observation to some one; but still the smooth thread of his speech goes on to the Committee: but it is smooth, and says as plainly as possible, "My dear friend, I am not to be hurried, understand that, if you please." When, however, Mr. Scott has a joke against his learned friend he looks round, and his dark eyes twinkle out the joke most expressively. . . . There was a slight twinkle as he said to the Committee, "Now I come to the question of gradients." It was amusing to see the five M.P.'s twist in their chairs, and how readily the Chairman told Mr. Scott the Committee required to hear nothing further about gradients. Had the question of gradients been entered upon, one might have travelled to Brighton and back ere it was concluded. Mr. Hope-Scott had the advantage of a good case, and he "improved the occasion" (ii., 119).

That he had an extraordinary influence with Committees is well known. A similar influence attended him wherever he went. Cardinal Newman, in the exceedingly touching address he delivered at his funeral, remarks:—

‘It was difficult to resist his presence. True, indeed, I can fancy those who saw him but once and at a distance, surprised and perplexed by that lofty fastidiousness and keen wit which were natural to him; but such a misapprehension of him would vanish forthwith when they drew near to him, and had actual trial of him; especially, as I have said, when they had to consult him, and had experience of the simplicity and (I can use no other word) the sweetness of his manner, as he threw himself at once into their ideas and feelings, listened patiently to them, and spoke out the clear judgment which he formed of the matters which they had put before him.

When some grave question or undertaking was in agitation, and there was, as is wont, a gathering of those interested in it, then, on his making his appearance among them, all present were seen to give to him the foremost place, as if he had a claim to it by right; and he, on his part, was seen gracefully to, and without effort, accept what was conceded to him, and to take up the subject under consideration—throwing light upon it, and, as it were, locating it, pointing out what was of primary importance in it, what was to be aimed at, and what steps were to be taken in it’ (ii., 254-5).

In preparing these memoirs, Professor Ornsby has shown great skill. He himself rarely appears. Throughout the volumes he leaves the letters and diaries to tell their own story. A beautiful sketch of Lockhart's daughter, Mr. Hope-Scott's first wife, shows his fine power as a delineator of character, and makes us wish that he had used it a little to set before us some of the higher reaches of her husband's. The absence of a portrait is a defect.

The Life and Letters of Elizabeth Prentiss, Author of ‘Stepping Heavenward.’ By the Rev. G. L. PRENTISS, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

This volume has only reached us in time for a hasty perusal, but it certainly contains records of the life of a woman of no ordinary gifts, both moral and intellectual. Mrs. Prentiss seems to have inherited from her father, the Rev. Edward Payson, that highly strung nervous temperament which renders its possessor painfully alive to every passing sensation, whether of pain or pleasure. What a terrible source of suffering this temperament becomes when upon it is grafted intense religious fervour of the old stern Puritanical type, is vividly portrayed in the brief sketch of Mr. Payson's life with which the book begins. Dr. Prentiss's admirable remarks on ‘the close connection between physical causes, and morbid or abnormal conditions of the spiritual life,’ appear to indicate that Mrs. Prentiss, in becoming his wife, was brought at the age of twenty-six years under influences well calculated to exercise a wholesome effect on her highly strung sensibilities. Her letters after her marriage certainly seem to us to become by degrees less unhealthily subjective in tone. How such

a delicate physical organization could sustain a life of constant suffering, almost chronic sleeplessness and unwearied activity, for close upon sixty years, seems hardly conceivable. Our space forbids us to dwell at large upon the character vividly set forth in this memoir. We can only note what appears to us the most remarkable feature in this gifted woman—the marvellous breadth of her sympathies, and her total freedom from prejudice. To the intense religious fervour of a mystic, she unites a keen love of art and literature, and a hearty relish of all innocent amusements. She goes through religious experiences and conflicts worthy of John Bunyan, is delighted with Goethe and Schiller, charmed with Adam Bede, and deeply interested in *Les Misérables*. Cardinal Manning, Unitarian ministers, Messrs. Moody and Sankey, all come in for hearty appreciation. She writes religious books, translates Schiller, and sketches with infinite humour, in her letters, trifling domestic misfortunes. Judging her by her letters, we cannot picture a woman more calculated to render religion attractive to all who come across her. The dark side of her religion—the result, doubtless, as Dr. Prentiss remarks, of ‘certain false notions of the Christian life and ordinances, then and still more or less prevalent’—was for herself : to all others she must have ever presented a striking example of the beauty of holiness.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles: Founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philological Society.
 Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., President of the Philological Society, with the assistance of many Scholars and Men of Science. Part I: A—Ant. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1884.

Dr. Murray deserves to be congratulated on the publication of this the first instalment of his great work on the English language. Scholars have waited long and patiently for it, but there are few, perhaps none, who will not hail its appearance with pleasure. Whatever may be its imperfections—and unfortunately it is the fate of everything here, even of the best intentioned and most laborious and conscientious efforts, to fall short of perfection—so much of his work as he has now given to the public encourages the belief that the expectations entertained by even the most sanguine respecting it will be realized, and that when completed he will have the high and honourable satisfaction of having presided over the production of the most perfect work of its kind in this or perhaps in any other language. The idea of the work, it is now scarcely necessary to remark, originated with Dr. Trench, the present Archbishop of Dublin, whose suggestion that it should be taken up and carried out by the Philological Society, that society was not slow to adopt. By a resolution passed at one of its meetings in 1857, it was proposed, as Dr. Murray tells us in his brief and very modest preface, ‘that materials should be collected for a new

English Dictionary, which, by the completeness of its vocabulary, and by the application of the historical method to the life and use of words, might be worthy of the English language and of English scholarship. With this view it was resolved to begin at the beginning, and extract anew typical quotations for the use of words, from all the great English writers of all ages, and from all the writers on special subjects whose works might illustrate the history of words employed in special senses; from all writers whatever before the sixteenth century, and from as many as possible of the more important writers of later times.' Mr. Herbert Coleridge, the first general editor, accordingly, with the assistance of several hundred readers, at once set to work to collect the requisite materials. On his death he was succeeded in the general editorship by Mr. F. J. Furnival, in whose hands the materials continued to accumulate until the number of quotations placed at his disposal amounted to upwards of two millions. Many of these had been provisionally arranged and more or less prepared for use, but no steps seem to have been taken towards the publication of the work until the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, recognising the importance of the undertaking, with a liberality worthy of the great seat of learning they represent, came to the assistance of the Philological Society, and consented on certain conditions to bear the expense of printing and publishing the work. Dr. Murray, who in the meantime had assumed the editorship in succession to Mr. Furnival, at once issued an appeal for volunteers to collect additional quotations from specified books. His appeal was responded to by over 800 readers, and from these in the course of three years he received a million additional quotations, raising the total number at his disposal to something like 3½ millions, representing the work of about 1300 readers, and selected from the works of more than 5000 authors of all periods. In the arrangement as well as in the selection of this vast mass of materials Dr. Murray has had the assistance, among others, of many of the foremost scholars and men of science, not only of the United Kingdom, but also of the Continent and America.

The aim of the Dictionary is not merely to give the derivation and signification of a word, but also to exhibit its history. 'It endeavours (1) to show, with regard to each individual word, when, how, in what shape, and with what signification, it became English; what development of form and meaning it has since received; which of its uses have, in course of time, become obsolete, and which still survive; what new uses have since arisen, by what processes, and when: (2) to illustrate these facts by a series of quotations ranging from the first known occurrence of the word to the latest, or down to the present day; the word being thus made to exhibit its own history and meaning: and (3) to treat the etymology of each word on the basis of historical facts, and in accordance with the methods and results of modern philological science.' The plan which Dr. Murray here sketches is certainly vast and ambitious, but there can be no doubt as to the ability and scrupulous care with which he and his assist-

ants have here carried it out. In one department, that of Etymology, they have been anticipated and their labours lightened. Wedgwood's *Etymological Dictionary*, though at times fanciful, is nevertheless full of valuable suggestions, while the later work of Mr. Skeat leaves little to be desired in this department. But the chief feature of the new dictionary is the combination of sound etymology with copiousness of illustrations exhibiting the entire life of the words. The only danger which seems imminent is that the work will become too bulky. Of course a work conceived on so large a plan must necessarily occupy many parts and even volumes. For, as Dr. Murray observes in his 'General Explanations,' 'the English vocabulary contains a nucleus or central mass of many thousand words whose "Anglicity" is unquestioned; some of them only literary, some of them only colloquial, the great majority at once literary and colloquial,—they are the *common words* of the language. But they are linked on every side with other words which are less and less entitled to this appellation, and which pertain ever more and more distinctly to the domain of local dialect, of the slang and cant of "sets" and classes, of the peculiar technicalities of trades and processes, of the scientific terminology common to all civilized nations, of the actual languages of other lands and peoples. And there is absolutely no defining line in any direction: the circle of the English language has a well-defined centre, but no discernible circumference. Yet,' as he continues, 'practical utility has some bounds, and a dictionary has limits: the lexicographer must, like the naturalist, "draw the line somewhere," in each diverging direction.' Judging from this first part, Dr. Murray does not seem disposed to 'draw the line' too tightly. The work is here brought down to 'Ant.' If it is continued on the same plan and in the same proportions, we shall have for the twenty-six letters of the alphabet about fifty parts of 350 pages each, or for the whole work upwards of 17,000 quarto pages,—a work of such formidable cost and dimensions as to place it beyond the reach of all except comparatively few.

Scotch words are fairly well represented. *Aiblins* is given, though the less common form *aiblins* is placed before it; *advourie* is registered under *adultery*. The old Scottish use of *abandoun* is also given. So also is that of *abaitment* in the sense of recreation, though spelled *abatement*. *Abee* or *abe* is given as Scotch, though we suspect it is also good English, and still in use in many parts of England. Altogether, the Scotch words here registered are about as numerous as could be expected to be given in an English Dictionary, though probably not so numerous as might be looked for in a dictionary dealing with the English language on historical principles, but to this matter we hope to return again. The system employed in order to represent the pronunciation is elaborate, and to many will doubtless be useful, but we doubt whether it is any improvement upon that used in the *Imperial*. For popular use, that employed in the latter is preferable.

On the Causation of Sleep. By Dr. CAPPIE. Second Edition.
Re-written. James Thin. Edinburgh, 1882.

This is a pleasantly written book wherein is detailed an ingenious argument, whereby the author endeavours to explain the immediate Causation of Sleep. Dr. Cappie says at the outset, 'I have no experiments to detail, nor anything new to reveal in regard to Brain Structure,' and he says further, 'for the correction of my conclusions I shall have to depend on the appositiveness of the analogies adduced, and the coherence of my argument.' This does not appear to be so satisfactory a method of enquiry as is required to determine the nature of an obscure problem in physiology. The central point of Dr. Cappie's theory is that in sleep, there is the occurrence of a change in the balance of the encephalic circulation. While physiologists generally are content to admit that the state of sleep is accompanied by a diminished supply of blood to the brain, he maintains that while there is a diminished supply of arterial blood, there is a correspondingly increased amount of venous blood which acts by compression on the brain substance and so induces sleep; and he argues, so far as we have been able to follow his argument, that as coma is the result of abnormal pressure on the brain, so sleep, which in many of its features approaches to the character of coma, is the result of this normal pressure. The author is careful to state that 'some modified molecular action is of course the primary cause of sleep and the foundation to build upon, but the altered balance of the circulation is the keystone which gives unity and stability to the superstructure. If this part of the theory fail, the whole must fall.' We know that very sudden and rapid changes takes place in the cerebral circulation as in sudden changes of the position of the head, and physiologists believe that the regulation and distribution of the supply of blood to the brain is effected through the influence of the vaso-motor nerves. It is generally confessed, however, that the whole subject is one about which we have as yet no precise or accurate information. To obtain such information will require the careful application of experimental methods of research, and cannot be settled by speculations however ingenious or interesting, and we may conclude this brief notice of a book which is at least suggestive, by quoting from the most authoritative physiological work in the English language. 'We are not at present in a position to trace out the events which culminate in this inactivity of the cerebral structures. It has been urged that during sleep the brain is anaemic; but even if this anaemia is a constant accompaniment of sleep, it must, like the vascular condition of a gland or any other active organ, be regarded as an effect, or at least as a subsidiary event, rather than as a primary cause, nor can the view which regards sleep as the result of a shifting of the mechanical arrangements of the cranial circulation be considered as satisfactory.' If we cannot congratulate Dr. Cappie in establishing his circulatory theory as satisfactory, we can recommend his book to all interested in cerebral physiology.

Nether Lochaber: the Natural History, Legends, and Folk-lore of the West Highlands. By the Rev. A. STEWART, F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh: W. Paterson. 1883.

This is one of those books which retain the freshness and fragrance of the scenery amid which they were written. Mr. Stewart was well advised when he relinquished his purpose of re-writing its chapters and resolved to let them stand as they were originally written. There is a freeness and a quiet humour in them which would in all probability have been evaporated in the process of re-writing. A more delightful book we have rarely come across. It is as full of interest, entertainment, and instruction as an egg is full of meat. Scraps of curious reading, folk-lore, old customs or superstitions, quaint sayings, droll stories, legends and traditions, meet one on almost every page. Mixed up with these, too, is a large amount of information about the flora and fauna of the country, generally conveyed in the shape of a story, or wrapt up in the narrative of a quiet adventure among the hills or along the coast. Now and then Mr. Stewart indulges in something like speculation, but his theories are always worth listening to and suggestive. There is a quiet strength and a solidity of thought in his pages which the pleasant amble of his style and his quaint humour often hide, but which sufficiently show that while keenly observant of things around him, he is a man of culture and genuine power. Mr. Stewart is probably at his best when describing some one or other of the varying aspects of nature, or when telling an anecdote. Some of his descriptions are exquisite specimens of word-painting—full of light and shade and varied colouring. Not the least remarkable feature about them is the rich human interest with which he manages to invest them. Most readers who have spent a winter on the West Coast, and many who have not, will be able to appreciate the realism of the following :—‘There is something inexpressibly dismal and *dowie* in the black crape-like belt of sea beach which divides a landscape deeply clad with snow and frost-bound, from the dull and leaden-coloured deep beyond ; the dashing of the waves of said deep upon the shore, uttering the while a sadly funereal and dirge-like moan. If our inland friends, in view of the wintry wastes around *them*, take up the cry of “O the dreary, dreary moorland”—we, dwellers by the sea coast, have the best possible right to finish the Tennysonian line by exclaiming “O the barren, barren shore.”’ We wish that we had space to give our readers other specimens of Mr. Stewart’s work, one or two of his quaint stories, some of his old world lore, one of his discourses on birds or bird music, or one of his spirited translations of Gaelic songs. We can only recommend all who wish to possess a really enjoyable book to procure this. They will find interest or entertainment on every page. As bearing on one of the questions of the hour, we quote the following words from the author’s account of his conversation with an old Highlander :—‘Our friend concluded by declaring in very emphatic phrase that “the

people now are less industrious than they were then ; have more money in their hands, but use it less wisely ; are less truthful, less honest, less to be depended upon in every way than were the people of his boyhood and their immediate predecessors." *Laudator temporis acti*, but there is some truth in it,' adds the author.

Lay Canticles and other Poems. By WYVILLE HOME. London: Pickering & Co. 1883.

This volume fulfils in a measure the brilliant promise of the *Songs of a Wayfarer*. Mr. Home has the true poetic inspiration, and is an accomplished master in the use of words and metre. Few poets in the present have so profound a sympathy with nature, or excel him in the use he makes of the imagery it suggests. As remarkable as anything else about Mr. Home's poems is the care which he has evidently bestowed on every line. Indeed, so far as artistic workmanship is concerned, he has few rivals, and but one or two superiors. The poems in this volume are mostly short. 'On the Hither side of Death,' probably the most ambitious, contains several fine passages, as, e.g.,

'One far-back sorrow
Has seized the melodies of all my life
And harmonized them sadly. Laugh I can ;
But ever under laughter must I hear
The cry that once rang clear
And shrill across my days, when first the man
Was born in me of joy, and life began,
And rose and golden dreams were sharply slain,
And with the grey dawn cold with sullen rain
The tide set in of pain.'

Still it scarcely touches us so deeply as 'Twenty Years Apart,' which we are disposed to regard as the best of the *Lay Canticles*. 'Sounds and their Echoes' is not without very considerable merits ; and 'Midwinter' is as a piece of descriptive poetry perfect. The longest poem in the book is 'Buffalmacco's Stratagem.' Mr. Home is here perhaps at his best. Sacchetti's story is related with admirable skill and humour. Mr. Home's verses do not readily lend themselves to quotation ; for his best passages need to be read with their context in order to see their beauty. We will make room for the following sonnet :—

'Set not thy foot unaccompanied to fare
Over life's storm-worn desert, lest thou faint
Midway the waste, with none to heed thy plaint ;
And blown sand overwhelm thee unaware.
Let not thy spirit from forth thy body stare
Out on strange peoples, like a cloistered saint ;
But rather, bearing both without constraint,
Move through the world, and find thy fellows there.
'Seek thy soul's co-mates ; share thy richest hour
With others, finding in exchange thy gain ;

Be affluent of thy gracious nature's power,
 Lest that its milk of sweetness, stored in vain,
 Like an unchilded mother's, turn to sour,
 And slowly poison thee in blood and brain.'

Lays o' Hame an' Country, being Poems, Songs, and Ballads. By
 A. LOGAN. With Glossary and Introduction. Edinburgh :
 Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier. 1883.

Mr. Logan is unquestionably a genuine poet, and has here made a valuable contribution to our Doric literature. His poems are rightly called 'Lays o' Hame an' Country,' as they are all animated either by sentiments of patriotism or the purest domestic affections. The lilt of his songs is charming. Their simplicity and beauty are a cheering sign that the divine afflatus is not yet departed from amongst us. Such poems as 'The Days o' Ither Years,' 'Heart Blossoms,' 'The Land Far Awa',' 'A Blithe Scottish Song,' 'The Happy Hame,' 'The Linty,' 'Wee Auld-farrant Fairy,' 'Cherished,' and many others we could name, cannot fail to touch the popular heart. We can find room but for a couple of quotations. The first is from the poem with which the volume opens, and in which is the noble line—
 'Staunch honesty upon his broo, the fairest earthly croon' :—

' But fled for ever are the blithesome days' o' auld,
 The hearth where worth an' beauty met is lanely noo an' cauld ;
 The mists o' gloaming gather fast, how altered since the dawn ;—
 Ah ! ane by ane frae life's fair tree the cherished blooms ha'e fa'en ;—
 My sun sinks saftly in the west, soon dimmed will be its flame,
 Still, darker as the shadows turn, I draw the nearer hame—
 That hame where sorrow canna come, an' never fell sad tears,
 Where waiting, fondly waiting, are the freends o' ither years !'

We cite the following stanzas at the risk of spoiling a beautiful song :—

' She has twa e'en o' witching blue,
 On me that saftly shine ;
 Twa hinnied lips o' ruddy hue
 Frae which fa' tones divine ;
 Rich raven tresses, dark as nicht,
 An' dimpled chin sae fair,
 While in her face affection's licht
 Is beaming evermair !

' Her smile sae fu' o' fondness warm,
 Bids dowie care withdraw ;
 Around my heart, to soothe an' charm,
 Bliss-blossoms freely blaw.
 To love her dearly ha'e I sworn,
 My trig wee fairy queen ;
 The woodland rose, though newly born,
 Nae purer is I ween.'

Scottish Pictures drawn with Pen and Pencil. By SAMUEL G.
 GREEN, D.D. Illustrated. London : The Religious Tract
 Society.

This is a volume which affords no small amount of gratification to our

national pride. Every Scotsman will con its pages and dwell upon its illustrations with delight. Everything that can be done by careful selection and the wood-engraver's art has here been done to do honour to our national scenery. To those who know Scotland only as visitors the volume will recall the happy days in which they wandered among our lochs and hills, and remind them of scenes of rural beauty and romantic story, to remember which is always pleasant and often cheering and refreshing ; while those to whom Scotland is yet but a name will here see how varied and beautiful its scenery is. Of the excellent volumes which form the series to which the one now before us belongs, we must candidly acknowledge our preference for this. The letterpress, we should add, is not undeserving of a word of praise.

Iberian Sketches : Travels in Portugal and the North West of Spain. By JANE LECK. Illustrated. Glasgow : Wilson & McCormick. 1884.

These 'Sketches' are taken for the most part from the less known districts of Portugal and the North West of Spain, and show that the roads usually followed by tourists do not always run through the best parts of a country or through those which are the most worth seeing. In the course of her travels, Miss Leck saw many spots of beauty, and has here described them with a careful and picturesque pen. Though brief, her descriptions are singularly vivid, and exhibit in a very remarkable degree the art of drawing with a firm and bold hand the main outlines of a scene, and of suggesting the details with the fewest words. As a series of sketches the book is admirable. Miss Leck has a quick eye and few things seem to have escaped her observation. Her notes on the manners, customs, and habits of the people, as well as those on the churches and convents she saw, are excellent. Though not an 'Art critic,' Miss Leck has a genuine feeling for art, and the only fault we can find with the two chapters which she devotes to an account of the paintings in Madrid is that they are too brief. The illustrations with which the volume is embellished are vigorously and skilfully drawn—sufficiently so to have secured the commendation of no less an authority than Mr. Ruskin.

Florence. By AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE. London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1884.

Venice. Same Author and Publishers. 1884.

The plan of these little volumes is excellent. Mr. Hare's aim is not only to guide the traveller to all the various objects of interest in Florence and Venice, but also to put him in possession of all that has been said about them by the best authorities. And as might be expected, he has achieved his aim with remarkable skill and good taste. His own descriptions are brief and well-written, and he has made copious use of the

writings of Kugler, Rio, Ruskin, Crowe and Cavalcaselle, Sterling, Villari, Horn, Goethe, Shelley, Leigh Hunt, Swinburne, Mrs. Jameson, Mrs. Browning, and a host of others. One never comes across a building or picture or article of *virtu* of any note but he is ready with one or more singularly apt quotations. Anything more perfectly fulfilling the idea of a 'guide book' we have never seen. With either of these in his hand, the traveller has for his companion all whose opinion is worth having as his companions.

From Messrs. Wilson & McCormick we have received the first numbers of two new magazines—*The Academician* and *The Glasgow University Review*—both of which promise well and are admirably adapted for the classes for which they are written. The second number of the *University Review* is a great improvement on the first, and contains an excellent portrait of Principal Caird. *How Glasgow Ceased to Flourish: a Tale of 1890*, a far from uninteresting brochure, cleverly written, and intended to show what, with our present want of defences on the Clyde, we might expect to happen if a hostile fleet were to present itself: *The British Railway System*, by J. L. Maclean, an extremely useful book for all who wish to understand the mysteries connected with the railways of the country, and invaluable to those intending to enter the railway service.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

LE LIVRE (December, 1883).—In this number the 'Bibliographie rétrospective' contains four articles, of which the first, signed by M. Champfleury, treats of 'The Friends of Balzac.' The title is scarcely accurate, as the only individual introduced to the reader is Gavarni, and if he is to be considered as a friend of Balzac's, he assuredly belonged to the class of those from whom it is well to be saved.—M. John Grand-Carteret contributes an interesting study on 'German Caricature,' more particularly on that of the revolutionary period, from 1830 to 1848, and that of the second Empire. We need scarcely say that the Kladderradatch has not been forgotten, that Napoleon plays a conspicuous part, and that Bismarck is duly reproduced with the three legendary hairs, which are responsible for so many wretched attempts at wit during the last twenty years or so.—'Illustrated Almanacks' form the subject of M. Victor Champier's paper. He deals with those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but we confess that, in this instance, age does not appear to have given any particular flavour to the insipid bombast of such productions.—The first part closes with an article from the pen of M. Louis Barbé, in which the question of Mary Stuart's poems is re-opened. The writer points out—as we did at the time—that only one of the sets of verses reproduced in a late number, by M. Pawlowski, can lay any claim to novelty. He also adds a few details which appear to have been unknown to the writer of the first article, though familiar enough to all who are acquainted with Laing and the Bannatyne Club Miscellany.—The second or modern part of *Le Livre* contains, as a new feature, a *correspondance écossaise*. This Scottish letter which bears the signature of M. Louis Barbé, consists

of short notices of the most important works recently published in this country. The reprint of Jamieson's Dictionary most appropriately figures at the head of these. The writer introduces it to his French readers as 'the best work to be consulted on all matters connected with the language and literature of Scotland,' and as containing a mass of interesting and varied information on 'history, literature, religion, hagiology, numismatics, law, sports, legends, old customs, popular beliefs and superstitions.' The anonymous novel *Angus Græme*, and Mr. Smart's: *A Disciple of Plato*, are singled out for special praise. The *Scottish Review* has not been forgotten, and flattering reference is made to a number of articles which have appeared in it. It is satisfactory to note that the leading literary review of the French capital so far recognizes the importance of the literary movement in this country, as to devote a special correspondence to it.

LE LIVRE (January).—The opening article of the first number of the new year treats of a subject well suited to the season, to wit: 'Literary New-Year's Gifts.' M. Antoine Fureteur has made it most interesting by a number of quotations chosen from the various broad-sheets, poems, and mottoes of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and generally from that literature to which our 'cards' belong. It rather detracts from the paper that the quotations, though never too long, are at times objectionably broad.—M. E. Forgues, in an able and instructive paper, shows us Lamennais in a new light, as a critic and a bibliophile. It contains several interesting extracts from his correspondence with Gail, who assisted him in obtaining what little knowledge of Greek he ever possessed, as well as particulars concerning the books in his valuable collection, and the circumstances under which he acquired them. We notice several English works, purchased when Lamennais was in London, about the year 1815; amongst them are Lingard's *Anglo-Saxon Antiquities*, Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, and Spelman's *Councils*. From a letter written to Baron de Vitrolles, we gather the curious scrap of information that Eugene Sue's *Wandering Jew* was one of Lamennais's favourite works of fiction. He praises the author's keen insight into character, the truthfulness of his dialogues, and his dramatic power. The article is accompanied by a striking portrait of Lamennais by Ary Scheffer; its date is 1848.—Under the title, 'Le Mouvement Littéraire,' M. Edouard Drumont contributes a chatty paper which treats of a good many things in general, and of Balzac, Hugo, and Frédéric Soulié in particular. From the 'Mémoires du diable' of the last named, he extracts a very striking prediction concerning the 'naturalist' novel of the present day. Though written nearly half a century ago, it reads like a criticism of Zola's latest abomination.—Amongst numerous other items of intelligence, we notice the announcement of a French work shortly to be published by an English writer. Its title is, 'Une course à Constantinople' (A Run to Constantinople), its author, the *Times* Paris correspondent, M. de Blowitz.

LE LIVRE (February).—In the present number of this most useful and important Review, the historical and literary part is particularly interesting. It gives the place of honour to an article entitled 'Le dernier Amour de J. J. Rousseau,' in which M. Chantelauze communicates what he believes to be the copy of a letter addressed by the philosopher to an English friend—Lady Cecilia Hobart. Is this an authentic document, or merely a clever imitation? It is scarcely possible to decide the question on internal evidence only. The style, we admit, is as like Rousseau's as though the letter were an extract from the *Confessions*, or the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. The invectives against 'those vile priests, those lying ministers of every sect, who debase our hearts, and people our imagination with horrible phantoms, who torment our lives, and poison our deaths,' are no exaggeration of his loathing for the clergy, and are placed here, as in so many passages of his acknowledged writings, in the sharpest contrast with his belief in the immortality of the soul, and the infinite goodness of the Supreme Being. The apology contained in the passage where he encourages Lady Hobart and her lover in their thoughts of suicide, at once recalls the singular sophisms which he puts into the mouth of St. Preux. It must be borne in mind, however, that these are salient points in Rousseau's manner, and consequently those which an imitator would naturally endeavour to reproduce,

In the next contribution, 'Les débuts d'un historien,' M. de Saint-Heraye shows us the late Henri Martin at the beginning of his literary career, and makes us feel thankful that he had sufficient good taste and sufficient self-control to abandon the rampant romanticism of his first attempts. It was chiefly owing to the judicious advice of M. Paul Lacroix, the well-known *bibliophile Jacob*, that an incipient Ponsou du Terrail became one of the foremost historians of the age.—A third article, 'Les Etapes de la Revue des Deux Mondes,' sketches the career of the well-known publication from its humble beginnings over half a century ago, down to the latest phase of its development, of which the outward sign was its removal, a few weeks back, to the historical mansion in the rue de l'Université, which is henceforth to be its head-quarters. M. Adolphe Racot's paper is full of curious and interesting details concerning the elder Buloz, and the first contributors to the *Revue*.—The retrospective part of this number closes with an article by M. H. Mola, on the Italian critics of Casanova. It is accompanied by a portrait of the celebrated adventurer, from a bust lately discovered in Germany.—In the modern part of the Review, the Editor, M. Octave Uzanne, appears with the first of a series of articles, of which the drift is indicated by the title, 'Vieux airs et jeunes paroles,' and M. Edouard Drumont, of the *Liberté*, defends Daudet, and attacks Octave Feuillet's last novel, 'La Veuve.'—This number of *Le Livre* is accompanied by a notice to the effect that this well-known *Revue du Monde Littéraire* will for the future be published in London by Mr. Unwin, of Paternoster Square, on the 12th of each month.

LA REVUE LYONNAISE (January 15th).—This Review, founded four years ago, by M. François Collet, is undoubtedly one of the most important and most ably conducted of any of the periodicals published in the provinces, and inferior only to the best of those issued in the capital. In one respect, indeed, it stands without a rival. It is the only periodical publication in which Provençal literature is represented. Each number of the *Revue Lyonnaise* contains specimens of that harmonious, full-sounding southern speech, the lineal descendant of the mediæval *langue d'oc*, which the genius of Mistral has raised from the lowly condition of a patois to the dignity of a dialect, which has produced *Mireille*, the 'divine poem,' praised by Lamartine as uniting the elegance of Longus with the majestic simplicity of Homer, and which makes us men of the North almost regret the victory which has given supremacy to our sterner *langue d'oïl*. The *felibres* who contribute to this interesting as well as highly instructive part of the *Revue Lyonnaise* are, in the first place, the recognised leaders of the Provençal renaissance, Frédéric Mistral and Joseph Roumanille. Associated with these are M. M. Paul Mariéton, Aug. Fourès, Ogier d'Ivry, Felix Gras, Anselme Mathieu, Bonaparte-Wyse, and other eminent writers whose labours in the good cause of preserving the *langue d'oc* from decay, and rescuing it from the comparative oblivion to which the classic idiom had long condemned it, are well known to all students of one of the most attractive branches of the language and literature of France. In this month's *Felibrige*—such is the appropriate title given to the Provençal section of the *Revue*—we find, in the first instance, a little poem: 'Un Oustau de la Renaissance,' addressed to M. Paul Mariéton, and containing a just and graceful tribute to the eminent *jelibre*. We quote a stanza from which, better than from many pages of explanation, those of our readers who are unacquainted with the *langue d'oc* will be able to understand how greatly it differs from the classical French which has developed from what was once the *langue d'oïl*.—

Ta demoro retrais aquén siècle. Quan isto
Dins si nòbli paret, es pouèto, es artisto :
De la grand i pichoun, sias de valent ; mai quau
Pèr l'ideau divin d'aquén biais s'abrasamo,
Es mies que Liounés e mies que Prouvençan :
Es d'ou misterious país di grândis amo !

Following this are a song and a ballad—words and music—the one addressed—

'A-n-uno que rescountrerian au Pont dou Gard'—
'To her whom we met near the Gard bridge';

the other relating the adventures of Janeto dou couthoun verd—Jenny with the green petticoat. Prose is also represented by a fable: 'Li Lapin dou Rei'—The King's Rabbits—which points the familiar moral: quau dono i paure, dono à Dièn—Besides the *Félibrige*, which, from its very nature appeals to a necessarily limited circle, the *Revue Lyonnaise* contains articles of more general interest. Foremost amongst these we have to mention the 'Souvenirs du comte Armand de Saint Priest,' communicated by Count de Charpin-Feugerolles. These *Souvenirs* present a most interesting picture of the French Revolution in its influence on the families of those who had been connected with the court in the old régime. So far as they have yet gone, they contain some very striking sketches of several important characters of the time, as well as descriptions of memorable events, such as, for example, the 5th October, 1789. A short paper of M. R. Cazenove, entitled: 'Troisième Voyage aérien,' recalls the incidents of the third ascent of Montgolfier and Pilâtre de Rozier, in the balloon 'de Flesselles,' which started from Lyons on the 19th of January, 1784. —'Les Trésors des églises de Lyon,' is not of engrossing interest for any but local antiquaries, and even these will require a considerable fund of Church Latin to understand much of it. From one entry we gather the information that during his stay at Lyons, Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, presented two silver candelabra to the Church of St. Stephen. They are valued at two hundred shillings, and the date of the gift is 1109.—M. H. de Terrebasse contributes an historical sketch: 'La Retraite de Monsieur de Chastillon et la Bataille de Vire-cul' (1587), in which he establishes satisfactorily that the not very elegant name is a libel on the Lyonnese.

LA REVUE LYONNAISE (February 15th).—In the first part of this number, by far the most important contribution is the continuation of the 'Souvenirs du Comte de Saint-Priest.' Such articles as: 'Le Salon des Peintres lyonnais,' by M. Morel de Voileine, and 'Très humble essai de Phonétique lyonnaise,' are more suited to local than to general readers.—'Les Facteurs des formes du langage dans les langues indo-européennes,' the summary of a lecture delivered by M. Paul Regnaud at the faculty of Lyons, deals chiefly with *analogy*, and shows that it is incontestably one of the great organizing influences to which our languages owe their vitality and their expansion.—In the *Félibrige* we have three short stories from the pen of M. J. Roumanille; the first, more particularly, 'Couloubeto, conte de ma Grand,' is both in matter and manner an excellent specimen of the *genre*. The legend of Queen Pedauque—half saint, half fairy, is the subject of a charming little poem by M. Auguste Fourès. In the ballad of King Don Pedro: 'La Roumanço dou Rèi en Peire,' M. Felix Gras seems to have drawn his inspiration directly from his poetical ancestors, the troubadours of the thirteenth century; in the concluding stanzas, which describe the battle where 'En Peire' fell, there breathes all the fiery energy of Bertram de Born, the warrior-poet to whom neither meat, nor drink, nor sleep, were so sweet as the wild charge, the clashing of swords and the breaking of lances.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (January).—'The Past and Future of Religion,' an article by Mr. Herbert Spencer, occupies the place of honour. A note of the author's informs us that this essay will probably form the last chapter of the 'Ecclesiastical Institutions,' in the sixth part of the 'Principles of Sociology,' that the assertions laid down in the first part of it are based on the contents of the preceding chapters, but that the proofs in support of most of them are to be found in the first part of the 'Principles of Sociology,' which was already published.—M. Paul Tannery follows with a very learned, but very abstruse 'Critique of Weber's Law.' This law refers to the sensation of weight, and is founded on experiments carried out according to the threefold method of 'the least perceptible increase,' 'of true and false cases,' and, 'of mean errors.' As formulated by Fechner, it asserts that 'the sensation of the difference of two excitations does not change, if the excitations vary in absolute intensity, but preserve the same relation, and if, consequently, the relative difference remains the same.' M. Tannery does not dispute the accuracy of the experiments, but he brings a formidable row of mathematical formulæ to prove that they do not warrant the conclusion, which has been deduced from them.—M. Charles

Lévéque continues a series of articles to which he has given the general title of 'Musical Aesthetics in France,' and, in the present instalment treats of the 'Psychologie des Timbres.' This word *timbre*, for which we know of no better English equivalent than the somewhat vague term *tone*, is the character which a sound has, independently of its rank in the scale, a character which depends on certain harmonious sounds co-existing with the fundamental sound, and forming a kind of accompaniment to it. This kind of accompaniment of which the ear cannot discern the elements is precisely what is here submitted to psychological analysis. The nature and distinctive character of various instruments are considered, beginning with the big drum and kettle-drum and passing on to the trombone and the horn. The author arrives at a conclusion, which, we think, fewer pages would have sufficed to establish, to wit, that, if the higher or 'vocal' instruments were suppressed, 'percussion instruments' would have but little if any meaning, but that, on the other hand, were 'percussion instruments' done away with, though certain effects might be lost, the superior instruments would be sufficient. The 'Revue générale' treats of a number of works bearing on the 'Aberrations of the Sexual Instinct.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (February).—The main object of M. Regnaud's scholarly paper on 'The Evolution of the Idea of "shining" in Sanscrit, Greek, and Latin,' is to determine in what manner the transition from the concrete to the abstract expression has been effected, and, more particularly, whether a regular system has been followed, whether analogous concrete expressions have always given rise to similar series of corresponding abstract terms.—The next article: 'Remarks on Sensations and Perceptions,' is an answer to the paper on this subject, which appeared last year, and which we noticed at the time.—The contribution which will be read with most interest is M. Guyau's masterly study: 'L'Esthétique du Vers Moderne,' begun in this and concluded in the next number. We recommend it particularly to those who may favour the opinion that French verse is too artificial and subject to rules and restrictions which have no foundation in nature. M. Guyau's arguments, if they do not actually convince such, should at least show them that the question has bearings too often lost sight of in the sweeping and somewhat scornful condemnation of French poetry by English critics. From a thorough analysis of the old classical alexandrine, and of its successor in the modern 'romantic' school, M. Guyau shows very clearly, that the difference between Racine or Boileau and Victor Hugo or A. de Musset, is not so great as we are apt to believe—on faith. The supposed contempt of the moderns for the *casura* is convincingly proved to be merely apparent, and, on the whole, it is impossible, we think, to reject the author's conclusion that the so-called revolution in the construction of the alexandrine, attributed to the new generation, is in reality nothing more than a regular evolution. But, altogether apart from conflicting theories and systems, the article contains the most thorough and masterly exposition of the nature and spirit of French poetry that we have ever met with.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (March).—Besides the conclusion of M. Guyau's article, the present number contains two other contributions in its 'articles de fonds,' the one by M. A. Bertrand, on 'Two Psycho-physiological Laws,' the other, by M. G. Lechalas on 'The Mode of Action of Music.' The two laws of which M. Bertrand treats have been gathered from the writings of M. Chevreul and Professor Charcot. Chevreul's law, which, by the way, is of some interest just now, that thought-reading and the kindred subject of involuntary nervous action are before the public, may be formulated as follows:—'There may be produced within us a certain muscular action which is not the effect of the *will*, but the result of a *thought* bearing on some phenomenon of the outer world, without any reference to the muscular action necessary for the production of this phenomenon.' A single experiment will at once explain and prove this law. It is of the utmost simplicity, requiring no apparatus beyond an iron ring fastened to a piece of string, and a circle drawn on the ground. If we hold this pendulum loosely over the circle we shall find that as soon as we fix our eyes on the circle the ring begins to assume a circular motion. Charcot's law is the result of observations and experiments made by him at the Salpêtrière. It is more com-

plex than the former, and, as will be seen from the mere enunciation, is intimately connected with some of the phenomena of hypnotism: 'Every movement communicated to our muscles from some external source determines a series of cerebral conditions and modifications which are apt to show themselves by the expressive attitudes and movements which habitually correspond to them.'—The *Revue* seems to have taken a decidedly musical turn; besides M. Lechals' article, which investigates the nature and the causes of the various sentiments to which music gives rise, there is, amongst the 'analyses et comptes rendus' an exhaustive summary of M. Weber's work on 'Musical Illusions.' In this same section M. Maurice Vernes, the late editor of the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*, devotes an article of considerable length and, we need scarcely add, of consummate learning, to M. Reville's work on 'The Religions of Uncivilised Nations.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (January, 1894).—The January number of this excellent and ably conducted Review opens with an article which will be read with considerable interest at the present time. As the title, 'Du Rôle international de la Suisse,' indicates, it considers the part which Switzerland has played in the past, and may be called upon to play in the near future amongst European States. The author, M. Numo Droz, claims for it, with just pride, that it has become, by common consent, a kind of intellectual and moral *Vorort* in the domain of international relations. The most important part of the paper, however, is that which treats of the right of free and safe asylum for all. 'Far from feeling any anxiety,' says the writer, 'at seeing their political refugees take the road to Switzerland, foreign States ought rather to be well pleased at it. For nowhere, in truth, are conspirators less to be feared. Our most populous towns do not number 80,000 inhabitants, their lower classes are not sunk in the depths of moral degradation as are those of other large capitals; in them the refugees constitute a heterogeneous element which contrasts sharply with the native population. The latter having no complicity with them, they cannot give themselves up to a series of reprehensible actions without being at once informed against. Certainly, they have every facility for meeting amongst themselves, but this, in itself, is an advantage, for their plots are all the more quickly detected. Moreover, do other States, with all their preventive laws, succeed in preventing them from meeting and conspiring at home?' Continuing the argument on these lines, M. Droz maintains that it is actually advantageous to throw no obstacle in the way of the printing of anarchical writings. Ably as the whole article is written, we do not think the author succeeds in bringing forward any good ground for allowing the apostles of dynamite to plot and plan at their ease, in Geneva or Lausanne, the blowing up of London, or the assassination of the monarch of a friendly country.—M. Léo Quesnel does not pretend to bring forward anything new or strikingly original in his essay on Raphaël. It is founded on a work well known in England, which the writer allows to be thoroughly exhaustive. But it deserves every praise for the admirable manner in which the salient features of Messrs. Crowe & Cavalcaselle's work are grouped together, so as to produce a most interesting sketch of the life and works of the great master.—In a sympathetic notice M. Eugène Rambert pays a just tribute to the memory of Mlle de Chambrier, a young writer of great promise, whose death, at the early age of twenty-one, is a heavy loss to Romand literature.—Fiction is well represented by *Chantemerle*, a tale bearing the signature of M. J. des Roches; *La Marche Nuptiale*, a Norwegian story by M. Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, and by a number of anecdotes collected by M. Marc-Monnier, from a manuscript volume written by Count Gorani, and entitled, 'Voyage dans une Auberge.'—We particularly recommend the various 'Chroniques'—there are some ten of them altogether—light, chatty, articles, dealing chiefly with the literature of foreign countries, though not to the exclusion of politics, or indeed of anything likely to interest the general reader.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (February).—'En pays Slaves,' an article from the pen of M. A. de Verdilhac, contains a sketch of Slavonia, Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, the Herzegovina, and Croatia.—From the East, M.

Eug. Réveillard takes us, at one leap, to the New World. His paper, which treats of religion, education, and manners in general amongst the French Canadians, is in the highest degree interesting. He looks upon catholicism, and the influence of the catholic clergy, as obstacles in the way of the material prosperity of the 'inhabitants.' It is among the Anglo-Canadians, who are almost exclusively protestants, and in whose hands the commercial interests of the Dominion are chiefly vested, that the wealth of the country is to be found. Amongst the descendants of the early French settlers, over whom the priests seem to possess an almost unbounded authority, there are comparatively few merchants. They prefer professional life, and as a consequence the province of Quebec numbers more lawyers than would be required to conduct cases for all the inhabitants, were they twenty times more addicted to law-suits than their Norman forefathers, and more doctors than can find a livelihood, in a country where people have kept up the patriarchal habit of living till they are ninety, and dying without preliminary infirmities. As regards education, Canada, says the writer, is in a very satisfactory condition, as compared with either the rest of America or the Old World. Its chief weakness lies in the insufficiency of its scientific instruction. The qualities here mentioned as particularly characteristic of the 'inhabitants' are highly creditable to them: these are their high moral sense, their hospitality, and their politeness.—The joint authors of the essay on 'Madame d'Epinau in Geneva'—M. M. Percy and Maugras—have brought together a number of letters in which the witty correspondent of Voltaire and Galiani treats chiefly of Switzerland and Swiss affairs. The judgments which they contain on the manners and government of the time give a striking picture of society and politics, and suggest interesting points of contrast with the social and political state of the country at the present day.—'Nice and its Environs' are described in a pleasant, light, and eminently readable paper, by M. Louis Favre.—The contributions to light literature are the continuation of 'La Marche Nuptiale,' and 'Karouna,' an Indian tale, by M. Auguste Glardon.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (March).—The most important contribution to this number is the paper which M. Arvède Barine devotes to the consideration of the Labour question. He proposes to examine the two schemes of participation and of co-operation, which have been started with a view to putting an end to the antagonism between capital and labour. The present instalment treats of participation in profits, a system which was first started in Paris in 1863, after no less than twenty years' struggle against ignorance and prejudice, by Edme Leclair, a master painter. M. Barine examines and explains the variations on the Leclair system, which have been adopted by M. Laroche-Joubert, M. Bord, M. Godin, and the well-known Paris warehouse, 'le Bon Marché.' In each case we have the same result, the undoubted success of the system, which transforms the workman and the employé, from indifferent or even jealous and hostile helpers, into ardent and devoted partners. We can heartily recommend this excellent article to all who feel an interest in the important and vexed question of Capital and Labour.—'L'Amérique du Sud, depuis Panama jusqu'au Cap Horn' gives rather less than it promises, and is perhaps the more interesting for it. So far, at least, as it goes in the present number, it is limited to a sketch of manners in Guayaquil, and a recapitulation of the events which led to the late war between Chili and Peru.—After another instalment of 'Madame d'Epinau à Genève,' we have an article upon 'The Condition of Married Women in England,' which it is scarcely necessary to summarize for the benefit of English readers.—Besides the conclusion of M. Björnson's story, 'La Marche Nuptiale,' there is also a complete tale written by Mme Jeanne Mairé.—The number also contains the usual 'chroniques.'

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (Nos. 4 and 5, 1883).—M. E. Revillout has been devoting considerable attention to an obscure chapter of the religious, or perhaps rather the ecclesiastical, history of Egypt at the close of the fourth and early part of the fifth centuries of our era. He is about to publish the result of his researches into the controversies that raged in the Theban nome and neighbourhood during that period, and to illustrate them by extracts from the

literature of those controversies, recovered by him from many scattered sources. Preparatory to this he gives a long account here of the life and labours of one of the most prominent figures in these controversies—the 'prophet,' as he was called, Senuti—a fiery zealot who was head of the Pachomian monks, and to whom Revillout gives the honour (hitherto given to Pachomius himself) of, if not originating, yet formulating and completing the famous 'Rules' so called 'of Pachomius.' The biography of Senuti—the usual monkish mixture of fact and fable—by his pupil and his admiring friend Besa, has been recovered and forms the basis of M. Revillout's portraiture, while collections of his letters and sermons, also recovered, are drawn from to illustrate the temper of the man and the work he set himself to accomplish. This essay forms the introductory paper of both these numbers of the *Revue*. It is followed in each case by papers from the pen of M. Michel Nicolas in continuation of his studies on Philo of Alexandria. M. J. Menant's great work, which is about to appear, 'Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie; Recherches sur la Glyptique orientale,' furnishes the third paper in the July-August number. It is the chapter on the female deities, 'Les Beltis,' of the Assyrio-Chaldean Pantheon. The illustrations of the original work are reproduced here. Professor Kuenen's reply to M. Halévy's paper, [which appeared in the pages of this *Revue* (iv. pp. 22-45) on Ezru's relation to the Mosaic Law], and which formed a note to his Hibbert Lectures, completes, with the customary chronique, the contents of the first of these two numbers. In the number for September-October, the editor gives another and brief instalment of his work on the 'Early History of the Jewish Nation,' and M. A. Bouché-Leclercq continues his French translation of the Sibylline oracles, reaching here the end of Book III.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1883).—This number closes the series for last year, and we observe with regret that it marks also the close of M. Maurice Vernes' connection with this *Revue* as editor. In a few parting words he lets it be known to us that he has not received the generous sympathy and aid he expected and needed (from the original promoters, we suppose, though he does not specially mention them) to enable him to complete the internal organisations necessary to—not its financial success, for of that he does not complain, but, its realizing his ideal of what the magazine should be. Rather than submit to the restraints laid upon him in this province he demits his office; and though nothing is said by him as to the future conduct of the *Revue*, we learn from other sources that it is to be continued under the guidance of M. Jean Réville, the son of the celebrated professor of the 'History of Religions' at the Collège de France, Dr. Albert Réville, who, by the way, is the Hibbert Lecturer this year. M. Jean Réville is already favourably known by his *brochure*, published in 1881, entitled, *La Doctrine du Logos dans la quatrième Évangile et dans les œuvres de Philon*. Being the last number under M. Vernes' editorship, this gathers up and finishes the loose threads, so to speak, of the web of the past issues—the series of articles that have been appearing in its pages. First, M. E. Beauvois gives and completes the second chapter of his admirable account of the early Celtic and Gaelic opinions as to the locality of the Paradise of the dead. He entitles this study 'The Transatlantic Elysium and Western Eden,' and in this part of it notices and analyses the various Monkish legends of Celtic and Gaelic origin as to the expeditions of various 'saints' or 'holy men' in search of this Elysium. He agrees with Mr. E. O'Curry, Mr. Skene, and other Celtic scholars, that these legends have a basis of historical truth, and that expeditions really were very early made from the Irish coast and the western islands and shores of Scotland, out into the Atlantic, which expeditions reached Iceland, and even America, and that the accounts brought back by the hardy navigators have been embellished by later monks to serve for the amusement or edification of their hearers. M. Vernes next completes his papers on *Les Débuts de la Nation Juive*. He treats here of the histories of Saul and David, and endeavours to apportion to each of these heroes their proper share in the work of uniting the hitherto independent Israelitic tribes in Canaan, and to bring out their true characters, defaced, he thinks, by one or more of the writers whose works are mixed up in the 'Books

of Samuel.' M. Michel, Nicolas finally continues and brings to an end his series of studies on Philo of Alexandria, discussing here, 'Philonism and Christianity,' and then 'Philonism and Neoplatonism.' After the usual reviews of books and synopses of papers delivered before learned societies and magazines, and the usual *chronique*, in which a brief, but graceful tribute is paid to the memory of Professor Lenormant, there is given a very valuable index to the eight volumes of this *Revue* which have appeared during the four years of its existence under M. Vernes' charge. In this index the arrangement is in the form of subjects, and will facilitate reference very materially. In the future numbers of the *Revue* we can hardly hope for better and more interesting papers than M. Vernes has been able to bring together in its pages, but under M. Réville's charge we feel sure that it will retain its high character, and be the organ still of a purely historic and scientific treatment of such questions as fall within its province.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January 1st and 15th).—The *Revue* begins the new year with a number which, for the variety and importance of the articles which it contains, as well as for the eminence of the names with which they are signed, is distinctly above even its own high standard. The veteran novelist, M. Octave Feuillet heads the table of contents with 'Le Voyageur,' a series of dialogues brimming over with that quiet humour which is one of the characteristics of the older generation of French writers, and in which the contemporary school of 'naturalists' is so lamentably deficient.—Another member of the Academy, M. le duc de Broglie, follows with 'Diplomatic Studies,' also continued in the next number, in which new light is thrown on the events connected with the first struggle between Frederick II. and Maria Theresa. The retreat from Prague is more particularly considered, and Belle-Isle's conduct, in reference to it, vindicated in a passage, which, though striking and almost eloquent, is, when soberly considered, rather sentimental than argumentative or convincing.—To all who feel an interest in the philosophical movement of the present century, we particularly recommend the consecutive essays in which M. Paul Janet considers Victor Cousin and his life-work. No living writer possesses such qualifications as does M. Janet for the task which he has undertaken. He is one of the few still amongst us, who sat at the feet of the great philosopher,—for, in spite of the reaction due rather to fashion than knowledge and conviction, we are among those who believe that Cousin fully deserves the epithet —; he was honoured with his friendship, and was in his company on the very last evening that the master spent in Paris. The first article, after briefly tracing Cousin's brilliant career at the lycée Charlemagne, and at the Ecole Normale,—it may be mentioned that he stood first at the first examination ever held there,—takes a survey of the state of philosophy in France, at the beginning of the present century, a period of absolute barrenness in this as in other branches. The author then proceeds to refute, on the authority of Jouffroy and Damiron, the now prevalent notion that the philosophy of Victor Cousin was a kind of lay and colourless religion, that the chief aim of his eclecticism was 'to protect the moral convictions of humanity,' as a writer in the *Revue Philosophique* lately put it, that is to say, to defend and establish certain preconceived dogmas, and more particularly those of free-will, the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul. The remaining pages of this first instalment are taken up with a sketch of Cousin's eventful journey to Germany. The young French professor's conversations with Schlosser, Passavant, and Frederick Schlegel in Frankfurt, with Ruterweck in Göttingen, with Ancillon, Schleiermacher and de Wette in Berlin, Daub and Hegel in Heidelberg, with Tennemann in Marburg, with Schultze and with Platner and Krug in Leipzig, and with Fries in Jena, are recorded in brief but pregnant extracts from his own diary. In his second part, M. Janet deals with the celebrated course of lectures delivered in 1818, on 'The True, the Beautiful, and the Good,' and also with that of 1820. We cannot attempt to summarize M. Janet's summary, we can only refer to it as containing a masterly exposition of Cousin's doctrines as they were at that period of his career. One passage, however, deserves particular mention. It is that in which the writer reproduces the main features of a lecture on 'The Letter and the Spirit,' and shows us the French philosopher teaching something dangerously like the doc-

trine of the sovereignty of the individual in matters of morals. The exclusion of this, one of the most original and eloquent of his utterances, from the collection published in 1841 would seem to prove, either that Cousin had modified his views, or was afraid of the consequences of his teaching.—M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu continues his very able discussion of the relations between the Vatican and the Quirinal since 1878. The details contained in M. Clavé's paper on 'French Fisheries' are particularly acceptable at a time when the subject of our own is attracting considerable attention. We particularly recommend a careful perusal of it to those who wish to understand what is meant by the harvest of the sea, how it is conducted, and what it yields. As a specimen of the interesting items of information given by M. Clavé, we may mention his account of the mussel fisheries. It appears that this humble bivalve so meanly thought of in England, is turned into money by our neighbours at the rate of about £73,000 annually.—'Das Volk in Waffen,' a work by Baron von der Goltz, whose essays we have more than once brought under the notice of our readers, is the subject of an able and appreciative review by M. Valbert who, whilst noticing the German writer's somewhat exaggerated enthusiasm for his profession, pays a high tribute to his impartiality.—The second of this month's numbers contains the continuation of M. Janet's study on Victor Cousin, and also of the Duc de Broglie's 'Etudes Diplomatiques.'—M. Ad. Vuitry contributes 'A Chapter of the Financial History of France,' in which he treats of the abuse of national credit and of the financial disorganization which marked the end of the reign of Louis XIV.—The art student will read with interest and profit the article in which M. Emile Michel reviews Mrs. Mark Pattison's work on Claude Lorrain. The price of the original publication is sufficiently high to make us feel thankful to the writer of the notice for giving us the pith of it, and communicating to us the most important of the discoveries which Mrs. Pattison has been able to make in her search through most of the museums and libraries of Europe, and foremost amongst them the master's last will and testament drawn up in 1670, but with a codicil dated only a few months before his death, in November, 1682.—A third instalment of M. Th. Bentzon's studies on 'The New American Novelists,' is devoted to the works of George W. Cable. The sketch is all the more acceptable that, as the author remarks, of all the novelists which the United States have produced, Cable is undoubtedly the least known on this side of the Atlantic.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (February).—M. Mario Uchard and M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé supply the fiction for this number, the one in the continuation and conclusion of *Mademoiselle Blaisot*, a novel of which certain passages seem intended for a treatise on gynæcology, the other in a collection of short stories—naturally Russian—to which he gives the title of 'Winter Tales.'—In an article which is at once scholarly and practical, vice-admiral Jurien de la Gravière treats of 'The Navy of the Emperors and the Flotillas of the Goths.' His consummate classical learning supplies him with arguments in favour of a scheme, which he has long and consistently advocated, for supplying ships of war with smaller craft, specially destined for the landing of expeditionary troops.—M. Maxime Du Camp resumes his articles on 'Private Charity in Paris,' that is, on those institutions which are maintained by voluntary contributions. The Home for Consumptive Women is the subject of the present instalment, which is admirable in point of style no less than of feeling and good taste. The sketch of Victor Cousin is continued in both numbers for this month. M. Janet recalls the political circumstances which led to Cousin's suspension as professor at the Sorbonne, touches on his course of lectures in 1828, and also explains his work as 'Concillor of the University,' under Louis-Philippe. The extracts from the correspondence between Cousin and Hegel, which are here introduced, will be read with special interest. This applies more particularly to one letter in which Cousin expresses a wish to introduce German philosophy into France, but with such modifications as the national temperament might require.—The various kinds of colouring matter which may be extracted from coals—mauveine, fuchsine, aniline, aurine, and several others—and the processes by which they are obtained

are set forth by M. Denys Cochin in a masterly paper to which he gives the title: 'La Houille et les Matières colorantes.'—In the mid-monthly number the Duc de Broglie continues his 'Diplomatic Studies,' the special points being indicated by the sub-title: 'The first struggle between Frederick II. and Maria Theresa,' and by the two divisions: 'Death of Fleury' and 'Louis XV. determines to govern by himself.'—The article which M. C. Lavollée devotes to 'Trades Unions,' is not altogether favourable to these institutions. The writer strongly deprecates the interference of the State in the matters at issue between capital and labour, and he is altogether opposed to making the system by which workmen are allowed a share in the profits, in any way compulsory.—To all concerned in the question of education we strongly recommend the perusal of the paper in which M. Albert Duruy—the son of the Minister for Public Instruction under the Empire—criticises 'The Reform of Classical Studies,' introduced in 1890. He makes it very clear that the new Time-Table is totally inadequate as far as the classical languages are concerned, and that the new curriculum is incoherent and disproportionate.—'The Solitary Kingdom,' that is Corea, is the subject of an article full of interesting information concerning a kingdom about which but little has hitherto been known beyond its isolation and its hatred of Europeans.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (March).—The chief contributions to the first of this month's numbers are continuations of studies begun in former numbers. The Duc de Broglie brings the 'First Struggle between Frederick II. and Maria Theresa,' down to the evacuation of Germany and the battle of Dettingen, that is, down to 1743. Under the title: 'Les Sœurs Avengles de Saint-Paul,' M. Maxime Du Camp describes in his charming style, and with touches of true feeling the work done at the Home for the Blind, another of the institutions supported by 'private charity.'—The series of essays, or rather the work on 'Victor Cousin et son œuvre,' is brought to a close. If it has not already, it will doubtless soon appear in book form. We recommend it as an important contribution to the history of the philosophical movement in France during the present century.—We have also to note another instalment of M. Albert Gigot's sketch of the life of President Jackson, begun a great many numbers back, and not yet brought to a close.—M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé has found another Russian subject: 'The Annexation of Merv.' He begins his sketch by twitting England with the indifference with which it has accepted what it three years ago was prepared to look upon as a *casus belli*.—Last year, in a speech which produced a considerable sensation, M. Madier de Montjau impeached the French magistracy, he represented France as imploring to be delivered from her magistrates, and even went the length of placing these below the convicts whom they send to the hulks. In a spirited article M. Georges Picot replies to this wholesale indictment, and further shows with what flagrant injustice the new law has been applied, what honourable and worthy men have been set aside by it.—A scholarly essay by M. Gaston Boissier sketches the system of public instruction which obtained in Rome under the emperors. It is replete with the most varied information, and throws considerable light on a subject which has not hitherto attracted any very special attention.—The events which brought about the re-establishment of the Stadtholdership in Holland in 1672, in spite of the energetic opposition of the brothers de Witt are narrated in an instructive and able paper by M. Antonin Lefèvre-Pontalis.—A notable article, bearing the signature of M. Constant Martha of the Institute, complains of the want of precision in art.—This month the serial novel is by M. George Duruy, and bears the name of the heroine, Andrée.—There are in both numbers the usual notices bearing on politics, literature, the drama and the financial fluctuations of the fortnight.

POLYBIBLION (January, February, March).—In the section devoted to arts and sciences, the chief works noticed by this bibliographical Review are: Mrs. Pattison's *Claude Lorrain*; *The Della Robbia*, of which the joint authors are MM. Cavallucci and Molinier; the history of *Flemish Painting* by M. Wauters, and of *Byzantine Art* by M. Bayet. In history, the most noteworthy novelties seem to be Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove's work on *The Huguenots and the*

Beggars, and M. Dabry de Thiersant's on the *Origin and Civilization of the Indians of the New World*. A little volume in which M. Léon Fontaine has gathered all the information necessary to a proper understanding of the military institutions of Rome under the Republic and the Empire, and to which he has given the title *L'Armée Romaine*, is here mentioned in terms of high praise: we bring it under the notice of classical students.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (January).—At the head of the table of contents for this number we find an article from the pen of Herr H. Usener, bearing the title, 'Organisation of Scientific Labour.' It is a protest against the breaking up of science into an unlimited number of specialities. In support of his views, the author appeals to Plato and Aristotle, whose immense activity he retraces. The paper is excellently written, and based on a thorough knowledge of the working of the Academy.—Dr. Arnold Sachse here concludes his examination of the laws by which free education has been established in France. The question is of considerable interest for Prussia, now that Prince Bismarck has declared for the abolition of all remuneration on the part of parents for the instruction received by their children in elementary schools, whether such remuneration take the form of actual fees paid to the school, or of a direct contribution to the State. Whilst accepting most of the reasons adduced in favour of this principle, Dr. Sachse is of opinion that the way in which it ought not to be carried out is that which has been adopted in France.—A lengthy article by Herr Wilhelm Lang is devoted to a consideration of that part of Lecky's History of the Eighteenth Century, which deals with the American War of Independence. The writer bears testimony to the impartiality with which the English historian has traced portraits of the chief historical characters of the century. Exception is, however, taken to one sketch. Need we add that it is to that of Frederick the Great?—Technical articles on the 'Manœuvres of the German Fleet,' and on 'The Revision of the Laws affecting Companies,' with the usual political and literary correspondence, make up the remainder of the contents.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (February).—Professor Dilthey's work on the 'Basis of Mental Sciences' is analysed in a very exhaustive paper by Herr Otto Gierke.—This is followed by an article in which Herr G. Bötticher considers the national importance of the mythical, heroic, and chivalric subjects handed down by the ancient literature of Germany. Wotan, Freia, Thor, and their fellows he puts away with considerable contempt. He holds it to be of importance, however, that the memory of such national heroes as Siegfried should be kept alive amongst the people. As regards the chivalric period, Herr Bötticher is enthusiastic, but he finds exception to existing translations of the mediæval poems, and takes the opportunity of giving a sample of his own rendering—soon to be published—of Wolfram von Eschenbach's 'Parzival.'—A few months ago, in November of last year, the French legislature abolished the so-called 'lioret,' the book which servants and artisans were bound to produce, and which, containing entries and remarks from former employers, stood them in stead of the English 'character.' In Germany, on the other hand, there is, and, indeed, has long been, at intervals, questions of introducing what France has done away with, or, at least made merely optional. As a protest against such a measure, Herr Wilhelm Stieda records the history of the 'livret' from its first appearance in 1782, to its practical abolition just over a century later.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (March).—The contributions to the third number of the *Jahrbücher* are varied and eminently readable. In the first of them Dr. Koch gives us 'The Characteristics of the Constitution of the United States,' and shows how, in many respects, these are due to the influence of older theories, and how, also, Montesquieu's views with reference to the English model have largely been adopted.—The writer, who, under the *nom de guerre* of Nautilus, represents the naval element of the periodical, is again to the fore with a paper on Torpedoes. He lays very great stress on their importance in naval warfare, and, being doubtless a sailor himself, asserts that the millions expended by Germany in protecting her thousand miles of sea-board, ought never to cost the

least sigh of regret.—To the promoters and partisans of the various movements which have as their object the eradication, or, at least, the diminution of drunkenness, Herr Moritz Alsberg's paper, 'Die Trunksucht und ihre Bekämpfung,' should be interesting reading. It quotes medical authorities as to the evil effects of alcohol on the constitution, produces some startling statistics as to the consumption of intoxicating liquors in northern countries, as well as to the number of convictions due to drunkenness, and finally mentions some of the most effective measures which have been adopted in various countries, for its prevention. We may mention that Glasgow is particularly and not very creditably noticed, in this article, as having in one year—the date is not given—run up to 40,000 with the number of its inebriates.—Herr Julian Schmidt gives a highly interesting sketch of the Swiss novelist, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer,—one of whose productions we have had occasion to notice,—together with an appreciative and favourable, but not exaggerated, review of his prose and poetical works.—We can scarcely look for anything new or very original on the subject of Abelard. But what was already known about him has been pleasantly re-told, in a paper bearing the familiar signature of Herr Wilhelm Lang.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (January).—This number of the *Rundschau* contains the concluding chapter of a very remarkable novel by Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, which deserves more than the mere passing mention which we have usually deemed sufficient to call attention to the lighter contributions to this periodical, excellent as they have often been. 'Die Hochzeit des Mönchs—the Marriage of the Monk—will rank among the best productions of the popular Swiss writer. Bold as was the task assumed by the author in putting his narrative into the mouth of no less a personage than the exiled Dante, he has accomplished it with perfect success. In the Dante whom the novelist has sketched we recognise the features of the Florentine poet, we have, as it were, the personification of the varied feelings which his master-piece calls up within us, whilst the narrative itself is not unworthy to figure by the side of the tragic episodes of the 'Inferno.' The plot of the 'Marriage of the Monk' is taken from an old Florentine tradition, which Meyer has already made the subject of a ballad, 'der Mars von Florenz.' By persuasion and stratagem a dying father, prevails on a monk to obtain the pope's permission to leave his monastery, and to affiancé himself to a lady for whom he entertains no feelings but those of loathing. A series of strange and striking events in which the observer seems to trace the workings of a mysterious fate, bring the freed monk into contact with another maiden on whom he bestows his love. He breaks his troth, and his infidelity is avenged by the death of the innocent cause of it, who falls, stabbed to death with an arrow by her enraged rival. Not only does this admirable novel contain sketches of character—such as, for example, that of the tyrant Ezzelino—which are unequalled save in the best productions of the masters of fiction, it also delineates the passion of love with a truth and an energy of which the author's former works scarcely led us to think him capable.—The article on 'The External Policy of Germany' opens with the remark that, having before their eyes the sad example given by France of how the external policy of a great country should *not* be conducted, it is all the more pleasant for Germans to show how their Fatherland has succeeded, 'through a truly statesmanlike guidance,' in maintaining the lofty position which the incomparable success of their arms has won for them. In this first sentence we have the key-note of the whole paper.—Professor Hirschfeld concludes his interesting narrative of a trip to the North of Asia Minor.—The Editor, Herr Julius Rodenberg, contributes another 'Picture of Berlin Life.' The district chosen for description in the present number is that of Kreuzberg. The writer has made his paper thoroughly interesting and attractive: the reminiscences of Mendelssohn, Chamisso, Hoffmann, and other Berlin celebrities are skilfully introduced and charmingly related.—In an article on 'The German Pilgrim-Fathers,' Herr Kapp sketches the rise and progress of the German Colony in America, from the first settlement, near Philadelphia, of the thirteen families who left their home in Crefeld on the 24th of July, 1683, and landed in the New World on the following 6th of October. It is most pleasant and instructive reading.—The translation of Turgenjew's 'Reminiscences' is

continued; and Herr Gustav zu Putlitz introduces his Grandfather's House in a short sketch which is agreeably written. There are also, in addition to these contributions, the usual political, literary, and dramatic reviews.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (February).—One of the most important papers of this month's number is that in which Herr Philipp Spitta treats of 'Jessonda,' the most popular of Spohr's productions, and traces the various phases through which the plot has passed from its appearance as a drama: 'La Veuve du Malabar,' written by Lemierre and produced at the Comédie française in 1770, to its metamorphosis into an opera half a century later. As a musical production it is appreciatively and impartially considered. It is worthy of notice that the writer of the article deprecates the 'national isolation,' to which German music is tending, and gives expression to the wish that it may be only a passing fancy.—In a well-digested and scholarly essay, 'Pergamon,' Herr A. Milchohofer traces the gradual development of the idea which led to the discovery of the royal citadel, and indicates all that this discovery has brought to light.—'The Present Condition of Polar Research' is the title of a clear and intelligible resumé of the information which we owe to successive expeditions of polar explorers. The author, Herr Friedrich Ratzel, deserves great credit for the interest with which he has succeeded in investing a subject which, however important, is not always treated in a manner calculated to attract the general reader.—'Der Schöne Valentin,' a novel from the pen of Frau Helene Böhlau, is begun in this, and concluded in the next number. Light literature is further represented by two short stories translated from the Italian of Signor Salvatore Farina, by Herr Hans Hoffman.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (March).—The conclusion of Frau Helene Böhlau's novel, 'Der Schöne Valentin,' is followed by an article on 'The Importance of Speech and of the Study of Languages, for Intellectual Life.' Amongst other noticeable points treated of by the writer may be mentioned the disadvantage which he attributes to the study of foreign languages, by young children. Had he been so circumstanced as to acquire what he deprecates, *two* mother-tongues, we believe his views on the subject would be very different. As regards the expediency of substituting the study of modern for classical languages in the education of the young, Herr Geller is of opinion that there is no living language of which the grammar can give such intellectual training as is to be derived from the Latin Grammar. If this be really the case, a fact which we are not prepared to admit, may we not look for the cause rather in the way in which grammars are compiled than in the languages themselves?—On the occasion of the centenary of the German painter Cornelius, Herr Herman Grimm examines 'how great the intellectual capital is, which Cornelius represents for the living generation,' and traces the causes to which may be attributed the growing appreciation of his works.—The paper which Professor Nöldecke contributes, and which has for its subject: 'Theodore, King of Abyssinia,' if it contains no new facts must at least be allowed the merit of placing old facts in a new light. Whether English readers will endorse all the writer's opinions is rather doubtful. We question whether, for example, they will accept, with regard to the Abyssinian expedition, the statement that 'the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Napier, seems to have been pretty well innocent of its success.'—Herr Karl Hillebrand, whom ill-health has prevented, for nearly three years, from contributing to the *Rundschau*, again makes his appearance in a most interesting and suggestive study: 'Vom alten und vom neuen Roman,' in which he compares the modern novel with its predecessors, and endeavours to show that it is in a great measure due to the conventionalities of the present generation, that fiction is now less interesting than it used to be.—Those in whom the name of Edward Lasker awakes any interest will read with pleasure the extracts from his correspondence, communicated by Herr Rodenberg. Late events have shown that there are some who had no very favourable opinion of the politician; it is impossible to read these letters without sympathizing with the man.—Before closing our summary of the contents of this most important and most ably conducted *Review*, we would notice the hearty welcome which it gives, once again, to the *Scottish Review*. Its favourable comments bear with them the greater

weight that they are accompanied by references to the particular articles on which the reviewer founds his judgment, showing how thoroughly he appreciates the aim of the *Review*, and how thoroughly he agrees with the statement, which he quotes, that 'Scotland is quite able, and should be willing to maintain a literature of her own.'

The last two numbers of the *THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT* contain no paper of striking interest, but a number of painstaking studies. Dr. Kuenen writes a long review of a new work by Professor Budde on the literary questions connected with the first twelve chapters of Genesis, and on most points disagrees with his author, while adding nothing to his own previously published views. Dr. Blom continues his studies on the Apocalypse, and sheds light by historical research on one or two points of that difficult work; and Dr. Loman has a paper on the Apocalypse of Barabas. There is an appreciative notice of Mr. Wordsworth's old-latin biblical texts.

The *GIDS* has had two theological papers since our last issue, both by advanced Moderns. In the January number Professor Matthes writes on the Book of Proverbs, a very clear and useful little essay; and in the February number Dr. Loman describes for the general reader his reconstruction of the history of early Christianity, of which we have more than once spoken in these pages. The paper has the title 'Symbol and Reality,' and seeks to show that by regarding the facts of the Gospel history as symbols of the truths the Christians of the second century wished to be believed, we reach the real essence of these facts. For example, the story of the supposed madness of Jesus symbolizes the fact that Christianity was regarded as madness by the Jews of the second century, among whom it should have found a home; and the crucifixion symbolises the sufferings of the Jews at the hand of the Romans. The suffering servant of Jehovah, the Jewish race as described by the Great Unknown, was cruelly misunderstood and ill-treated by the world, while conferring on the world the greatest possible benefit. Dr. Loman considers that John the Baptist was really the founder of Christianity, but not he alone: though of the person of Jesus or even of the fact of His existence he holds that nothing can be known with certainty. The main question to be settled between this writer and the theological world is whether a scientific biography of Jesus can be constructed from the materials the Gospels offer. Dr. Loman holds that no biography of Jesus is possible with our present materials, and infers that the place of Jesus was not filled by any historical figure. Many while refusing to take the latter step will agree that no satisfactory biography of Jesus has yet been given to the world.

The most noteworthy contribution to the *GIDS* of the last three months is a story called 'Meinardos,' in the March number, by Mr. C. van Nievelt. It is powerfully told, and contrasts well with the trifling studies of interiors and costumes which are generally presented as fiction in this periodical. The outlines of the story will bear repeating. Meinardos is a Dutchman who has lost his family, and having become the victim of insomnia and a believer in pessimist doctrine, has resolved on suicide. He is rescued at Venice from the death he sought by a doctor who has been on the outlook for such cases, and who persuades him, since he is determined to part with his life, to part with it in a way in which it will benefit mankind. Five others have consented to this step, the nature of which, however, is not revealed until the tryst is reached, when all the six victims appear, the doctor himself being one of them. This scene takes place in a Swiss chateau, where three great physicians meet the voluntary victims. A great experiment is to be tried with regard to the treatment of cholera. The six victims are to be inoculated with the bacillus, and three of them chosen by lot are to be treated with the supposed antidote, the efficacy of which it has hitherto been impossible to test. On hearing the nature of the venture they have come to try, four of the victims at once decamp, and Meinardos and the doctor alone are left to carry through the experiment. The fatal lot is drawn by the latter, who loses his life accordingly, while to Meinardos a better life begins.

The *GIDS* for January contains an excellent study on the play of 'Julius

Cæsar' by Mr. de Haan, who formerly wrote on 'Othello.' It is entitled 'Brutus,' the conspirator being the main figure of the piece, and the reasons of Brutus' failure as an orator and in other respects are very well set forth.

Dr. Holwerda contributes to the April number a very fine paper on 'The Attic people and the Art of Phidias,' to be continued.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (January 1st).—The first paper is a short monograph on 'Francesco de Sanctis,' by Jacob Moleschott.—Signor Grachi commences a series of articles on 'Roman Weddings,' sub-entitling this, the first, 'The Girl of the Family,' the customs in connection with whom, mode of education, etc., as practised in ancient times, the author describes in an interesting manner.—Signora Pigorini-Beri sends another of her descriptive papers, 'In Calabria,' this time relating a journey from 'The Ionian to the Pyrrhenian' (Sea).—F. Martini writes a paper on 'The New Façade of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence.'—A scientific article on 'Germs in the Air,' treats of an interesting but not agreeable subject.—Professor de Amicis writes an historical sketch, not wanting in romance, entitled, 'Emanuel Filiberto at Pinerolo.'—Signor Bonghi writes on Father Curci's book, *Il Vaticano Regio*, calling the title a new one, but the subject old. He agrees with Curci on most points. Signor Siciliani has a paper on 'New Year's Gifts,' tracing them back to ancient customs.—*The Bibliographical Review* criticises H. M. Hyndman's *England for All*, remarking that though Hyndman's ideas are far from triumphing in England, it is still evident that a current of opinion is gradually being formed in that country which will tend to modify the social constitution considerably. January 15th.—This number opens with a pleasant paper by Signor Nencione, on 'Humour and the Humourists,' saying that after *romanticism*, the most abused and mistaken word in Italy is *humour*. He is delighted to find true humour in the works of Carducci. He analyzes humour, and points to the part played by it in modern Italian prose.—Signor Fiorentino contributes a historical article on 'Donna Maria d'Aragona, Marchesa del Vasto,' who was the companion of Vittoria Colonna, and flourished in Naples during the first half of the eighteenth century, but has since been almost forgotten, though well deserving of remembrance.—Signor Mossa writes on the 'Functions of the Nervous Centres.'—Signor Barrili follows with a short story with the quaint title, 'From a Book of Records, sole chapter, which tells of a man, a woman, and a large cage.'—Signor Cottrani writes on the 'Strategic arrangements of the Italian Navy.'—*The Review of Foreign Literature*, besides other works, notices *The Modern Languages of Africa*, by Cust. *The Bibliographical Review* gives a summary of C. Brodrick's book, *Progress of Democracy in England*.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (February 1st) opens with an article by Pasquale Villari on 'Francesco de Sanctis and Criticism in Italy,' which first describes the decline of literature in Italy during the reaction, when, especially in Naples, the university only existed in name, and an Italian was written that was neither Italian nor French. At this time the Marquis Puoti opened a new school for Italian in Naples, in which de Sanctis was one of the most gifted pupils, and who soon sought a path for himself.—Signor Valentino Giachi contributes a paper on 'Roman Weddings,' the earliest forms and customs of which he describes, giving, among others, a graphic picture of an ancient Roman wedding, with the bride in her flame-coloured veil, being torn, with a semblance of violence, from her mother's arms, and conducted through the marble streets and squares, full of noble columns and statues, amid a crowd of festive guests and curious spectators, and flowers and perfumes, torches, music and singing, and the clapping of hands, to the house of her husband, who awaits her on the threshold, throws handfuls of nuts among the people, attaches a woollen plume to the doorpost, and anoints the door-sill—over which the bride afterwards leaps without touching it—with the fat of a pig or a wolf to keep off evil spirits,—from which act the husband took the name of *uzor*. The article is to be continued.—In an article under the title of 'The Forgetfulness of History' it is observed that history, in relating the acts of the great, and archæology, in searching into religious and artistic monuments, often totally neglected the poor classes with their rude

implements and weapons, and that the silence of history as to stone-weapons has been interpreted as a proof of their pre-historic antiquity, whereas the use of such weapons must have been continued, among other customs, down to a late period. The use of stone ceased gradually and unobserved. The grandchildren forgot that they had seen the stone-weapon in the hands of their grandfathers, and, finding such in the earth, believed that they had fallen from heaven, and ascribed to them magic powers; and thus even the least ancient traditions were hidden behind the veil of legend.—Then follows a long article, or rather historical sketch, by Signor Bongui on 'Martin Luther,' in writing which the author has availed himself of many German works on the great Reformer.—Signor E. de Amicis describes a visit he lately made to Torre Pellice, the Geneva of Italy, a little town situated in a small Italian Switzerland, inhabited by a people who seem to form a separate nation in the bosom of Italy.—An article on 'The Romagna, with regard to the National Pilgrimage,' by 'a friend of d'Azeglio,' touches on the interesting subject of the political sects that now-a-days ravage the Romagna, a subject which the author declares is capable of profitable study. What is most needed, says the author, is the pure and simple, impartial and increasing, application of the law, the first effect of which would be to arrest the evil, and the second the commencement of progressive amelioration.—Professor Tacchini contributes a long and interesting article on the late and still existing sunset phenomena, rejecting the idea of their being caused by volcanic or meteoric dust, and attributing them to an exceptional condition of the atmosphere, which permits the formation of a uniform stratum of aqueous vapour at a great height; together with an exceptional serenity that greatly augments the phenomenon which otherwise generally remains unobserved.

In the *NUOVA ANTOLOGIA* (March 1st) we have a close criticism, under the title of 'A Story of Love and Death,' of Boccaccio's 'Ninfale Fiesolano.' The criticism goes to show that Boccaccio's story was founded not only in the Greek legend of Daphne, related by Partenio and others, but also of the Metamorphosis, mixed with the author's personal recollections of actual facts occurring in his own time and country. His 'Ninfale' was a worthy precursor of the magnificent amorous episodes of the great Italian romantic epica.—Signor Marselli concludes his careful examination of the nature and qualities of the South Italians—commenced in a previous number—by a warm appeal to his southern countrymen to cultivate tenacity and dignity of character, as, without this, culture and genius are insufficient. 'The good South Italians,' says Marselli, 'ought to become more active; the Italians as a whole more calm in mind; the government a more efficient protector of the good and more resolute opponent of the bad, and the masses ought to be made to feel that the former are more powerful than the government.'—Signor E. Brigio contributes an interesting paper on the influence of Miron, the contemporary of Phidias, on Greek sculpture, attributing the general ignorance of Miron's qualities and renown to the fact that the researches of modern German archaeologists, which have brought the ancient sculptor's value to light, are deplorably neglected in Italian classic education, a thing the more to be regretted, because Italy possesses so many excellent copies of the statues executed by Miron and his school. The article goes on to give an account of the chief facts relating to Miron and his works.—The 'Rock of Cavour' is a descriptive story by Signor de Amicis of the present little town and former castle of Cavour in Piemonte, where in 1690, the inhabitants massacred by General Catinat's soldiers, were thrown into a small cistern in the castle-court, a cistern now full of chalk, stones, and bones. A large wooden cross is erected in commemoration of the massacre, and the story still lives among the inhabitants of Cavour and the neighbouring district.—Signor Bonghi unwillingly enters into the controversy between the Church and State in Italy, in an article entitled, 'The Propaganda fide and the Italian Government.' The *Political Review* speaks of home affairs, the alliance between the three Empires, and the English Cabinet, saying of the latter, that though the Conservatives make use of any disaster in Egypt to ridicule Gladstone's sentimentalism, no one is rash enough to doubt that Statesman's honest and sincere intentions. It is impossible to say whether there might not be a

ministerial crisis if internal and external perils were to increase, but 'it is certain,' says the reviewer, 'that if the Conservatives came into power, England would draw to the three empires and favour a league, the scope of which would be to defend order in Europe. All the threads of such a social defence unite in Prince Bismarck, who proceeds immovably on his course, and compels all separate wills to bend to that of Germany.'

THE RASSEGNA NAZIONALE for January, 1884, commences with the final chapters of the 'Journey from Salerno to Cilento,' full of information and interest. Signor Carutti contributes a short comedy entitled 'Garriek's Proof,' the scene of which is laid in England: Garriek feigns madness to prove the fidelity of his wife, and the truth of his fame as an actor. There follows a translation of 'Christmas in 1776,' which appeared in *The Catholic World*. After come more 'Scraps from the Literary and Political Papers of Marquis Dragonetti.' Professor d'Ippolito continues his articles on the 'Interference of the State in Economic Questions.' Signor Gandolfi discusses the good and harm of foreign influence on Italian music. Another paper on Venice, by S. Malaspina (which forms part of a series of lectures given on the question of disastrous inundations), is entitled 'The Disappearing Lagoon.' Signor Tempia writes on 'The School and Society.' G. Savarese writes *apropos* of the discussions on parochial incomes. Signor Coman contributes an article on woman's work.

THE RASSEGNA NAZIONALE for February commences with more letters from the literary remains of Marquis Dragonetti. Signor Alessio contributes an article entitled 'Reminiscences of Physical Questions,' in which he opposes the materialistic theory. Signor Nunziante sends an article entitled 'A Journey in Europe in the 16th Century,' founded on an old MSS. in the Royal Library of Dresden. There follows a learned archaeological paper on the use of the word *Laconic* as applied to ancient baths. Then comes an unedited letter by Antonio Serbato on a manuscript relating to religion. Several interesting letters from Ercole Ricotti to Leonardo Fea, now published for the first time, touch on incidents which occurred in Italy before and during the year 1848. Signor Pozzoni writes on the agrarian question. A short memoir of Giovan Batista Giuliani, a noted Italian writer on Dante, follows, by August Conti. Professor A. Stoppani sends a paper on the 'Sanity of Language,' being a discourse lately given by him at the Academy of the Crusca. Signor Galasani writes a brief memoir of the Italian archaeologist Mella, who died on the 8th of January last.

THE CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA for January 5th commences with a tirade on 'The Time that is Going and the Time that is Coming.' The author regards with apprehension both what is past and what is to come. 'Both,' he says, 'bring with them destruction. Europe for a whole century has been trying to destroy all social order, and replace it by one which is founded on the servitude of the people to Judaic economy and the politics of Freemasonry. Everything proves hatred of Christianity. All Christian society has been turned topsy-turvy, and on its ruins is erected the politico-economical edifice of Hebraic Freemasonry, with all its system of hypocrisy and lies, judicial pretence and legal rildrty,' &c.—The next article is on 'The Church in its Social Aspect,' and comes to the conclusion that the Church is the supreme society, and that all human operations ought to agree with her laws and her actions.—The third article continues the examination into 'The Present State of Linguistic Study.'—The 'Journey to China, etc.' is continued.—The bibliographical review contains a critique on the translation of J. Stuart Mill's *Utilitarianism*, and concludes with the following sentence: 'Mr. Stuart Mill is principally wanting in philosophical ideas, and the maxim to which his work leads is "Love yourself and everything else out of self-love."' The number for January 19th commences with a further article on 'Journalism,' the author declaring that Catholic journalism is only the result of obedience, and of the necessity of opposing something good to the deluge of corrupt journals that is inundating the world. In the opinion of the writer no greater curse could have descended on the modern generation than that of journalism.—There follows another part of the article on 'The Cell and Life,' in

refutation of Hæckel; the tenor of this article is sufficiently indicated by the headings of the different sections, for example, 'Hæckel solemnly convicted of falsity.' 'The Hæckelian School in Italy; its marvellous faith and docility,' etc. The next article is a biblical-historic one on 'Cyrus and the Prophets.' Then comes an archaeological paper on the origin of the silver and bronze coins in Etruria.

THE CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA for February 2nd commences with the continuation of the articles on 'Journalism,' entering into an exposition of Catholic journalism in particular. It concludes by agreeing with what was said by the *Gazetta d'Italia*, printed in Florence in 1871, namely, that journalism is the fourth scourge of humanity after war, famine, and pestilence, and that nothing too bad can be said of both journalism and journalists; this applying, of course, only to *perverse* journalism.—An article follows on 'The Qualities of the Catholic Church,' namely, its unity, sanctity, catholicity, universality, and apostolicity.—The articles on 'The Present State of Linguistic Study,' and the 'Journey to China,' are continued.—The contemporaneous chronicle closes the number, not omitting to notice the extraordinary sunsets, on which the correspondent in London remarks that 'one would be inclined to say that the unusual aspect of the sky shows a certain sympathy with the confused and quiet state of the moral and social world.' The number for February 16th opens with a moderately expressed article on the 'National Pilgrimage to the tomb of Victor Emmanuel and the Monarchical cause in Italy.'—The next article is entitled, 'There can be no Opposition among the Sciences,' and argues that the opposition that at present seems to exist is not real, and is caused by the malice or ignorance of scientific men.—Then follows an article on 'Who was Darius the Mede, mentioned in Daniel?' The opinions of learned men of all nations are quoted, and the author of the paper promises to give his own shortly.—The papers on the 'Decline of Italian Thought' this time take up the subject of magazines and newspapers. In the present article the 'Nuova Antologia,' for instance, is called a poor parody of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, superficially written, in which the revolutionary spirit, and tolerance for what is good and what is bad, predominate. It has also the evil tendency to oppose the supernatural, and to applaud materialism.—In a review of a *Manual of Education for Italian Workmen*, the critic stigmatizes the ideas of Mr. S. Smiles—whose works are referred to in the *Manual*—as 'wanting in moral principle. For him there is no other good than to grow rich.'—Under the title of 'Natural Sciences' the splendid sunsets are discussed, the writer leaning to the supposition that the phenomena are caused either by volcanic or meteoric dust, and not by aqueous vapour.

THE CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA for March 1st opens with an article on 'Superior Instruction,' criticizing the projects for university reform in Italy, and describing the movement from 1872. 'Ministers, senators, deputies, and celebrated professors,' says the writer, 'of different religions and political opinions, all agreed in condemning the Government monopoly, which reduced the universities especially to a miserable condition. There is liberty and even licence in Italy to say or print anything. Religion and society of every kind are free, then how can our scientific institutions and science itself alone remain slaves? France rebelled against the university monopoly established by the First Napoleon; it is impossible that Italy, which vaunts her liberty, should obstinately cling to the evil system of Bonapartist Caesarism. Now-a-days the political predominance of France has given place to that of Germany, so that the Italian Government, in accordance with its noble custom of prostrating itself before the rising sun, is obliged to pretend to copy the example set by Germany in scholastic legislation.'—Next follow several chapters of the article on 'The Present State of Linguistic Study,' the special subject being this time the Aryan language and the Aryans.—The 'Journey to India and China' is continued.—The review of Italian publications criticises a translation of the Abbé Fabi's book on the cause of the ancient greatness of Rome, calling it a profound analysis of Rome's civil constitution.—The number closes with the usual contemporary and bibliographical notices.

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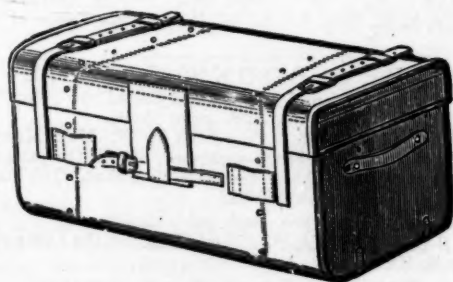
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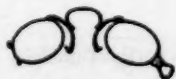
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The most effectual Remedy for Sluggishness of the LIVER, BILIOUSNESS, Glandular Disease, and Jaundice, and is also indicated by a Sallow Complexion, Furred Tongue, Depression of Spirits, Constipation, Sickness and Giddiness, Bitter Taste in the Mouth, Offensive Breath, Tendency to Bilious Vomiting and Purging, Dull heavy-pressing Pains on the Forehead, Temples, and Vertex, relieved by pressure. It has been successfully used by many Physicians of eminence, and is confidently recommended as a safe and efficient remedy in the above cases. Phials, 1s, 1s 6d, and 2s 6d each; by Post, One Stamp Extra, from 17 GORDON STREET.

TOOTHACHE or NEURALGIA

In the Gums instantly Cured with THOMPSON'S TOOTHACHE SPECIFIC Phials, 1s each; by Post, One Stamp Extra, from 17 GORDON STREET.

Inflamed Toe Joints, ENLARGED TOE JOINTS, CORN, BUNIONS, &c.,

Effectually Cured with THOMPSON'S NEW AMERICAN SOLVENT. It relieves the pain instantly, and in a few days removes Corns, Swellings, &c. Bottles, 1s 1½d each; Post free for 15 Stamps, from 17 GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

A FEW COMMON COMPLAINTS AND SUITABLE REMEDIES INDICATED.

Asthma—Give *Arsenicum*, *Nux Vomica*, *Kali Bichromas*, and *Antim. Tart.*, each remedy to be given three times a-day in the order mentioned.

Breath, Bad—*Mercurius Viv.*, *Carbo Veg.*, *Pulsatilla*, and *Aurum Met.*, each remedy to be given three times a-day in the order mentioned.

Boils, Gum—*Merc. Sol.* and *Belladonna*, time about every two hours.

Boils—*Herpar. Sulph.* and *Arsenicum* in alternation every two hours.

Deafness (in general)—*Gelseminum* and *Pulsatilla* in alternation every two hours.

Earache (in general)—*Aconite* and *Chamomilla*, time about every hour.

Gout—*Aconitum* and *Belladonna* in alternation every two hours at first. If these fail, give *Byronia* and *Colchicum* in alternation every two hours. Apply *Byronia* Liniment externally.

Hair Falling off (from sickness or debility)—Use Thompson's Restorative Lotion at bedtime, and dress with Macassar Balm next morning.

Hoarseness (in general)—*Kali Bichromas* and *Lycopodium*, time about every two hours.

Loose Teeth—*Acidum Nitricum*—A dose three times a-day, and wash the mouth with Floral Elixir night and morning.

Loss of Voice—*Aconitum*, *Phosphorus*, and *Causticum*—A dose every hour in the order mentioned.

Loss of Appetite—*Arsenicum* and *Nux Vomica* time about every two hours.

Lumbago—*Rhus Tox* and *Cimicifuga* in alternation every two hours.

Mumps—*Belladonna* and *Mer. Sol.*, time about every three hours.

Piles (in general)—*Nux Vomica* and *Sulphur* in alternation every three hours.

M. F. THOMPSON supplies all the Homœopathic Remedies of guaranteed Purity, in Phials, 1s, or 10s per doz., post free.

The above preparations GENUINE ONLY from

F. M. THOMPSON'S Central Homœopathic Pharmacy
17 GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

CAREFULLY NOTE THE ONLY ADDRESS.

IMMEDIATE PROVISION for
OLD AGE or EARLY DEATH

SPECIAL
ATTENTION
REQUESTED TO THE
ANNEXED TABLES
OF THE

ROYAL

INSURANCE
COMPANY

LIVERPOOL
&
LONDON

FUNDS IN HAND
EXCEED
£ 5,000,000, STERLING

ROYAL INSURANCE COMPANY

IMMEDIATE PROVISION FOR OLD AGE OR EARLY DEATH.

THE SUM ASSURED PAYABLE AT AN AGE SPECIFIED, OR AT DEATH IF EARLIER.

PREMIUMS FOR EACH £100.

WITHOUT PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.

Age.	At Age 70 or Death.		At Age 60 or Death.		At Age 50 or Death.	
	Half-Yearly Premium.	Yearly Premium.	Half-Yearly Premium.	Yearly Premium.	Half-Yearly Premium.	Yearly Premium.
20	£ s. d. 0 19 5	£ s. d. 1 18 2	£ s. d. 1 2 7	£ s. d. 2 4 4	£ s. d. 1 9 6	£ s. d. 2 17 9
21	1 0 0	1 19 3	1 3 4	2 5 9	1 10 9	3 0 2
22	1 0 7	2 0 4	1 4 1	2 7 3	1 12 1	3 2 10
23	1 1 1	2 1 5	1 4 11	2 8 10	1 13 6	3 5 7
24	1 1 9	2 2 7	1 5 9	2 10 7	1 15 0	3 8 7
25	1 2 4	2 3 10	1 6 8	2 12 4	1 16 9	3 11 10
26	1 3 0	2 5 2	1 7 8	2 14 3	1 18 6	3 15 4
27	1 3 8	2 6 6	1 8 8	2 16 2	2 0 5	3 19 1
28	1 4 5	2 7 10	1 9 9	2 18 3	2 2 7	4 3 3
29	1 5 1	2 9 3	1 10 9	3 0 4	2 4 10	4 7 8
30	1 5 10	2 10 8	1 12 0	3 2 8	2 7 5	4 12 7
31	1 6 8	2 12 3	1 13 3	3 5 1	2 10 3	4 18 0
32	1 7 6	2 13 10	1 14 7	3 7 8	2 13 4	5 4 0
33	1 8 4	2 15 6	1 16 0	3 10 5	2 16 10	5 10 8
34	1 9 3	2 17 3	1 17 6	3 13 5	3 0 8	5 18 1
35	1 10 2	2 19 1	1 19 2	3 16 8	3 5 2	6 6 8
36	1 11 2	3 1 1	2 1 0	4 0 2	3 10 2	6 16 4
37	1 12 3	3 3 2	2 3 0	4 4 0	3 16 1	7 7 7
38	1 13 4	3 5 4	2 5 1	4 8 0	4 3 0	8 0 8
39	1 14 7	3 7 8	2 7 5	4 12 7	4 11 1	8 16 1
40	1 15 10	3 10 2	2 9 11	4 17 5	5 0 11	9 14 8
41	1 17 3	3 12 11	2 12 10	5 3 1	...	...
42	1 18 9	3 15 10	2 16 1	5 9 3	...	...
43	2 0 5	3 19 0	2 19 8	5 16 2	...	...
44	2 2 2	4 2 5	3 3 9	6 4 0	...	...
45	2 4 1	4 6 1	3 8 4	6 12 9	...	...
46	2 6 2	4 10 1	...	...	...	...
47	2 8 5	4 14 5	...	...	...	...
48	2 10 10	4 19 2	...	...	...	...
49	2 13 6	5 4 4	...	...	...	...
50	2 16 5	5 9 11	...	...	...	...

The amounts to be saved are at the discretion of every one; the times for payment are fixed; the difficulty of investing small sums, and the danger of keeping them *uninvested*, are both removed; and the additional advantage is offered that, in case of death, the FULL SUM intended for *Old Age* is available at once as a PROVISION FOR FAMILY or otherwise, even if only One Payment of Premium has been made.

THE ADVANTAGES OF THIS SCHEME

are, that it overcomes the great difficulty ordinarily found in

SAFELY INVESTING SMALL SUMS OF MONEY,

and that in other respects it has been specially framed to render

A DESIRABLE OBJECT EASY OF ATTAINMENT.

ROYAL INSURANCE COMPANY

COMPLETE POLICIES.

Annual Premiums, ceasing after a limited number of payments, to assure £100 at Death, whenever it may happen.

WITHOUT PARTICIPATION IN PROFITS.

Age	5 Annual Payments.			10 Annual Payments.			15 Annual Payments.			20 Annual Payments.			Age	5 Annual Payments.			10 Annual Payments.			15 Annual Payments.			20 Annual Payments.		
	Prem.			Prem.			Prem.			Prem.				Prem.			Prem.			Prem.			Prem.		
15	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	38	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
16	6	15	2	3	15	6	2	16	5	2	6	5	39	10	6	10	5	17	0	4	8	0	3	13	9
17	6	18	0	3	17	2	2	17	6	2	7	5	40	10	10	7	5	19	2	4	9	9	3	15	3
18	7	0	10	3	18	10	2	18	8	2	8	6	41	10	14	6	6	1	5	4	11	6	3	16	10
19	7	3	8	4	0	6	3	0	0	2	9	6	42	10	18	5	6	3	9	4	13	3	3	18	6
20	7	6	7	4	2	3	3	1	3	2	10	6	43	11	2	5	6	6	2	4	15	2	4	0	3
21	7	9	6	4	3	11	3	2	6	2	11	8	44	11	6	8	6	8	9	4	17	4	4	2	2
22	7	12	4	4	5	6	3	3	9	2	12	9	45	11	11	2	6	11	6	4	19	6	4	4	2
23	7	15	0	4	7	2	3	5	0	2	13	10	46	11	15	10	6	14	4	5	1	9	4	6	4
24	7	17	10	4	8	9	3	6	4	2	14	11	47	12	0	7	6	17	4	5	4	2	4	8	7
25	8	0	10	4	10	6	3	7	8	2	16	0	48	12	5	6	7	0	5	5	6	8	4	10	10
26	8	3	10	4	12	3	3	9	0	2	17	2	49	12	10	5	7	3	6	5	9	3	4	13	3
27	8	7	0	4	14	0	3	10	4	2	18	4	50	12	15	4	7	6	8	5	12	0	4	15	10
28	8	10	3	4	15	10	3	11	8	2	19	6	51	13	0	3	7	9	10	5	14	11	4	18	7
29	8	13	7	4	17	8	3	13	0	3	0	8	52	13	5	5	7	13	2	5	18	0	5	1	5
30	8	16	10	4	19	7	3	14	6	3	1	10	53	13	10	8	7	16	9	6	1	2	5	4	4
31	9	0	0	5	1	6	3	15	11	3	3	0	54	13	16	0	8	0	5	6	4	5	5	7	5
32	9	3	3	5	3	5	3	17	4	3	4	3	55	14	1	5	8	4	0	6	7	10	5	10	8
33	9	6	6	5	5	4	3	18	9	3	5	6	56	14	7	0	8	7	8	6	11	5	5	14	2
34	9	9	9	5	7	2	4	0	2	3	6	9	57	14	12	9	8	11	8	6	15	2	5	18	0
35	9	13	0	5	9	0	4	1	8	3	8	0	58	14	18	10	8	16	0	6	19	2	6	2	0
36	9	16	4	5	11	0	4	3	2	3	9	5	59	15	5	3	9	0	8	7	3	5	6	6	3
37	9	19	9	5	13	0	4	4	8	3	10	10	60	15	12	0	9	5	10	7	7	10	6	10	9
	10	3	3	5	15	0	4	6	3	3	12	3		15	19	0	9	11	6	7	12	5	6	15	6

EXAMPLE.

A person aged 25 next birthday may, by paying an Annual Premium of £4:12:3 for ten years, or of £2:17:2 for 20 years, secure £100 to his Heirs at his decease.

Should the Assured desire to discontinue the payment of premiums before the stipulated number has been discharged, he will be entitled to claim a "Paid-up Policy" in lieu of the one first taken out. The amount to be assured by such "Paid-up Policy" will be determined thus:—Suppose £100 to have been the sum originally assured, and that six Annual Premiums, out of a series of ten, have been paid, then a "Paid-up Policy" for £60, equal to six-tenths of £100, would be granted; or, assuming that eight Premiums have been paid, out of a series extending over twenty years, the "Paid-up Policy" allowed would assure at death £40, or eight-twentieths of £100.

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE AND EFFECTS.

£100 for 2s. 6d. a-Year.

200 " 4s. Od. "

300 " 6s. Od. "

£500 for 10s. Od. a-Year.

700 " 14s. Od. "

1000 " 20s. Od. "

JOHN H. McLAREN, *Manager.*

DIGBY JOHNSON, *Sub-Manager.*

JOHN B. JOHNSTON, *Secretary in London.*

UNQUESTIONABLE SECURITY
WITH
MODERATE PREMIUMS

COMPLETE
LIFE POLICY
FOR
FAMILY PROVISION
THE ANNEXED TABLES OF
THE

ROYAL

INSURANCE COMPANY

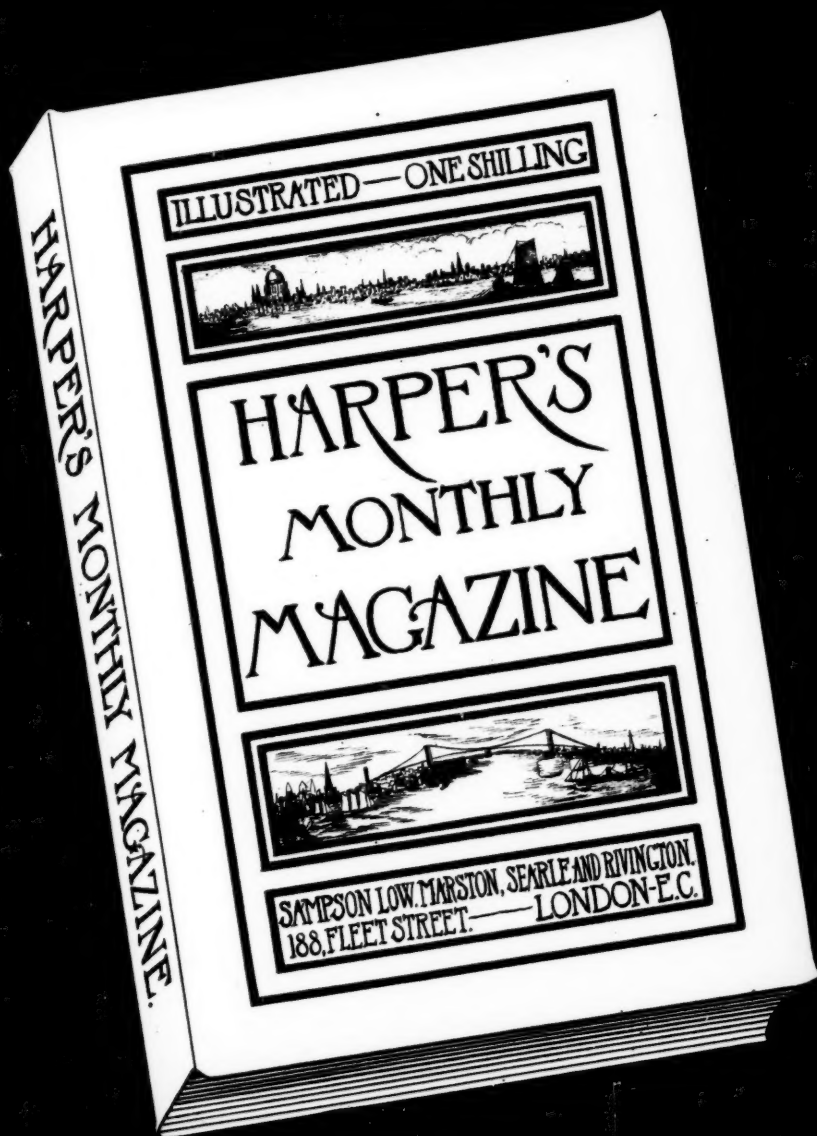
AFFORD FULL INFORMATION

PAYMENTS CEASE

DURING
OLD AGE

FUNDS IN HAND
EXCEED
£5,000,000, STERLING

AN AMAZING SHILLINGS-WORTH.



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New York Life

ESTABLISHED
1845.

INSURANCE COMPANY.



(THE COMPANY'S BUILDINGS, NEW YORK.)

Conducted under the Official Supervision of the Insurance Department of the Government of the State of New York, Reports deposited annually with the Board of Trade in Great Britain, in accordance with "The Life Assurance Companies Act, 1870."

TRUSTEES FOR GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

With whom is deposited 250,000 Dollars in United States Bonds (for the protection of all Policy Holders and Annuitants), and 100,000 Dollars in the same Bonds (as additional protection for the representatives of deceased Policy Holders), or equal to over £70,000 in all.

THE RIGHT HON. HUGH C. E. CHILDERS, M.P., F.R.S.

FREDERICK FRANCIS, ESQ., *Director London & County Bank.*

A. H. PHILLPOTTS, ESQ., *Director Bank of British North America.*

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SOLICITORS.—MESSRS. ASHURST, MORRIS, CRISP & CO., 6, OLD JEWRY, E.C.

LIFE ASSURANCE ONLY. PURELY MUTUAL.

ALL PROFITS BELONG TO POLICY HOLDERS, AND APPORTIONMENTS ARE MADE ANNUALLY.

STATEMENT for Year ending December 31st, 1881:—

ACCUMULATED FUNDS	£9,689,905
SURPLUS over all Liabilities and Reserve Fund, according to Valuation made by the Government... ..	£2,023,372
INCOME FOR YEAR... ..	£2,126,120

CHIEF OFFICE FOR GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND:—

76 & 77, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON, E.C.

J. FISHER SMITH, *General Manager;*

From whom Prospectus, containing full information, can be obtained.

TONTINE INVESTMENT POLICIES,

By combining an INSURANCE, an INVESTMENT, and an ANNUITY,

OFFER SPECIAL ADVANTAGES TO INSURERS.

To illustrate the practical working of Policies on this plan, the following is one of the Estimates which have been prepared. The age 38, at entry, at which the calculations are made, is selected as being a fair average age, but the results at different ages of entry, and in different classes of Policies, must necessarily vary from these given, in the same manner that Dividends and Reserves on different classes of Policies vary.

Estimate—ORDINARY LIFE—20-Year Tontine Policy.

EXAMPLE:—A person aged 38, by the Annual Payment of £29. 3s. od., can secure for 20 years an Insurance of £1000, and then either—

A Cash Payment of £1,045 0 0 | An Annuity for Life of £110 5 0
Or a Paid-up Policy for £1,970 0 0*

* For full particulars, see Prospectus.

ANNUAL BONUS POLICIES.

Besides combining the Tontine System with all the ordinary plans of Insurance, the Company issues Policies on the following plans, with Annual Bonuses:—

ORDINARY LIFE.

On this plan the Premiums are continued during the life-time of the Assured, and the amount is payable at death.

LIMITED PAYMENT LIFE BY 10, 15, OR 20 YEARS' PAYMENTS.

On these plans the Premiums cease in 10, 15, or 20 years (according to plan originally chosen), the amounts being payable at death.

These Policies continue to participate in Bonuses after all the Premiums have been paid on them.

ENDOWMENT BY 10, 15, OR 20 YEARS' PAYMENTS.

On these plans the amounts are payable in 10, 15, or 20 years (according to plan originally chosen) to Assured, or in case of previous death to their representatives.

ANNUITIES.

This Company grants ANNUITIES upon more favourable rates than British Companies, the higher rate of interest obtained by their investments in first-class American securities enabling them to do so.

COMPARATIVE ANNUITY RATES.

The following is a comparison of the New York Company's Rates, and the average Rates of British Companies:

CASH REQUIRED TO PURCHASE ANNUITY OF £100.		AGES.		
		50	60	70
37 British Companies	Males ..	£ 1,365 18 0	1,068 4 0	746 14 0
24 Do. do.	Females ..	1,500 12 0	1,237 15 0	840 19 0
NEW YORK COMPANY	{ Males or Females }	1,165 10 0	907 6 0	637 14 0

*. ANNUITIES PAID TO FEMALES SAME AS MALES.

ACTUAL RESULTS.

The following Policies were taken out at the London Office of the NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY (76 & 77, CHEAPSIDE), in 1871 and 1872, and having matured, have all recently been paid :—

Plan—TEN-YEAR ENDOWMENT—10-Year Tontine.

POLICY No.	POLICY AMOUNT.	ANNUAL PREMIUM.	TOTAL AMOUNT PAID BY COMPANY.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
84,253	250 0 0	26 8 9	349 9 8
84,255	250 0 0	26 18 3	351 13 5
84,298	250 0 0	26 7 8	349 3 10
86,378	1,000 0 0	105 15 0	1,384 9 9
86,632	1,000 0 0	105 2 2	1,380 19 4
86,848	1,000 0 0	106 0 0	1,385 18 3

NOTE.—The Policy-holder in each case was insured against death during the ten years, and being alive at the maturity of the Policy, HE RECEIVED AN AMOUNT EQUIVALENT TO THE REFUND OF ALL HE HAD INVESTED, WITH NEARLY FIVE PER CENT. COMPOUND INTEREST; THUS HIS INSURANCE DURING THE TEN YEARS COST HIM NOTHING.

POLICIES taken on 15 and 20-Year Endowment—Tontine Periods, are much more remunerative, as the following examples from the Company's estimated results show :—

FIFTEEN-YEAR ENDOWMENT—15-Year Tontine Policy.

EXAMPLE :—A person aged 38, by the Annual Payment of £68. 14s. 7d., can secure for 15 Years an Insurance of £1000, and then either :—

A Cash Payment of	£1,688 0 0
An Annuity for Life of	154 19 0
Or a Paid-up Policy for	3,625 0 0*

TWENTY-YEAR ENDOWMENT—20-Year Tontine Policy.

EXAMPLE :—A person aged 38, by the Annual Payment of £50. 17s. 2d., can secure for 20 Years an Insurance of £1000, and then either—

A Cash Payment of	£2,183 0 0
An Annuity for Life of	230 8 0
Or a Paid-up Policy for	4,115 0 0*

* For full particulars, see Prospectus.

ADVANTAGES OFFERED

BY THE

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

1st.—It is a **MUTUAL COMPANY**, AND NO LIABILITY IS INCURRED BY ITS POLICY-HOLDERS. There are no Shareholders. Profits are divided *annually* among the Policy Holders only.

2nd.—**BONUSES** can be used to reduce the second and following years' premiums, or to increase the amount of Policy.

3rd.—**BONUSES** are *larger* and Rates on the average *lower* than British Companies, owing to the higher rate of interest obtained on first-class investments in America.

4th.—**SECURITY** is guaranteed by the stringent laws of *New York*, which restrict Investments, fix a positive standard of solvency, and require a rigid annual examination to be made by the Government Insurance Department.

5th.—**STABILITY**. The accumulated funds, December 31st, 1881, were £9,639,906 securely invested. The annual income is £2,126,120, and the surplus over reserve and all liabilities £2,023,572.

6th.—The **TONTINE POLICIES** of this Company practically combine Life Insurance with an Investment or an Annuity, at the ordinary premium rates.

7th.—**ANNUITIES**. The amounts required to purchase these, average 30 per cent. less than those charged by British Companies.—The rates for females are the same as for males.

8th.—**LIBERALITY** in payment of claims. The records of the Company show many acknowledgments of its liberality and fairness in the payment of claims. There are no Shareholders, and consequently no interests adverse to those of the Policy Holders.

9th.—**CLAIMS** are payable in London in sterling, and all disputed claims (in case any should arise) in Great Britain are to be decided by British Courts.

BRANCH OFFICES:

BIRMINGHAM—26, Corporation Street.

DISTRICT MANAGER—ROBERT WOOD.

BRISTOL—The Exchange.

DISTRICT MANAGER—W. H. COULTAS.

LIVERPOOL—B4, Exchange.

DISTRICT MANAGER—W. NEILSON FYFE.

MANCHESTER—100, Mosley Street.

DISTRICT MANAGER—JOHN LE M. BISHOP.

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE—17, Dean Street.

DISTRICT MANAGER—W. H. HALL.

PLYMOUTH—42, George Street.

DISTRICT AGENT—W. R. COLLINSON.

YORKSHIRE AND DURHAM—15, Bridge Street, BRADFORD.

DISTRICT MANAGER—W. H. HAYWARD.

GLASGOW—Herald Buildings, 66, Buchanan Street.

MANAGER FOR SCOTLAND—W. E. HERBERT.

EDINBURGH—31, Princes Street.

AGENT—PATRICK TURNBULL.

DUNDEE—3, India Buildings.

AGENT—G. A. McLAREN.

BELFAST—St. Ann's Buildings.

AGENTS—J. W. MONCRIEFF & CO.

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No. 6.

APRIL,

1884.

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NORWICH UNION LIFE INSURANCE SOCIETY.

Chief Office—NORWICH. SECRETARY—T. MUIR GRANT, ESQ.

This Society is one of the Oldest and Wealthiest of the existing institutions. It was instituted in 1808, and is purely *Mutual*, the whole Profits belonging to the Members.

Claims have been Paid amounting to upwards of £10,000,000. This sum is exclusive of the Policies effected by the AMICABLE SOCIETY, which ancient Corporation, Established by Royal Charter in the reign of Queen Anne, was in 1866 merged by Act of Parliament in the NORWICH UNION.

The Society occupies an exceptionally strong position. At the last Distribution of Profits in 1881, out of an Assurance Fund of £1,699,218 a reserve was made for Expenses and future Bonuses, of no less than £429,447, and has since been largely increased.

Examples of Bonus Additions as at 30th June, 1881, on New Series Policies of £1000, and of Five Years' standing.

Age at Entrance.	Premiums Paid.	Bonus.	Percentage of Bonus to Premiums Paid.
20	£106 13 4	£78 4 0	Over 73 per Cent.
30	129 7 6	79 16 5	Over 61 per Cent.
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50	231 0 10	95 13 0	Over 41 per Cent.
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